LOCATING AFFINITY AND MAKING MEANING: GAMELAN(ING) IN SCOTLAND AND HAWAIʻI

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAIʻI AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

MUSIC

MAY, 2018

By

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Acknowledgements

I would first like to thank two generous funding opportunites offered through the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa: the Heidi Student Assistance Fund in Music, and the Arts and Sciences Student Research Award. These funds provided support for fieldwork travel.

I owe many people a great deal of thanks for their help with and support of my fieldwork and research. Ian Ritchie and Eona Craig, thank you for taking time from your busy schedules to explain the intricate logistics of welcoming a Javanese gamelan to Glasgow. Thank you, as well, to the secretarial staff of the Scottish Chamber Orchestra for opening your archives to me.

To all the members, past and present, of Naga Mas and the UH Javanese Gamelan Ensemble, I cannot thank you enough for welcoming me into your communities, for your gracious patience with my endless questions, and for your thoughts and knowledge about gamelan. To Theodora Bayly, Mark Carlin, Jamie Dunnett, Signy Jakobsdottir, Jon Keliehor, Gordon MacKinnon, Sophie Pragnell, Katherine Waumsley, Neil Wells, and Bill Whitmer, thank you for sharing thoughts, experiences, and cups of tea. My special thanks to Jena Thomson, Margaret Smith, and J. Simon van der Walt for sharing your homes and your insights during my stay in Scotland. I will be back again.

The members of the UHJGE helped make Hawai‘i a home for me. I am particularly grateful to Pak Hardja Susilo for his patience and depth of knowledge, qualities he worked very hard to instill in generations of students. To Amit Chaturvedi, Nancy Cooper, Reed Dasenbrock, Thelma Diercks, Joan Doike, Gary Dunn, Robert Herr, Michiko Ueno-Herr, Wendell Ishii, Barbara Polk, Bill Remus, R. Anderson Sutton, and Daniel Tschudi, thank you for teaching me how to be a gamelan musician. I am especially grateful to Byron Moon and Pattie Dunn for their constant encouragement and direction.

Mahalo nui loa to friends and classmates in Hawai‘i, especially Beth Boisvert, Anjelica Corbett, Froilan Fabro, Chadwick Pang, Yejin Park, and Yang Xi. Special thanks to Justin Hunter and Larry Oliver Catungal. Although we neither started nor ended together, your constant support along with our long discussions and energetic debates have guided my work as a scholar and a teacher.

There are many professors at UHM, in and out of ethnomusicology, who guided my studies. I am especially appreciative of Frederick Lau, Byong Won Lee, Jane Moulin, Kate McQuiston, Lesley Wright, Patricio Abinales, Barbara Andaya, David Hanlon, and Markus Wessendorf. Thank you for constantly challenging me to be a more thoughtful scholar. Thank you as well to Barbara Smith. As the keen eye and warm heart of the ethnomusicology area, you provide a wonderful example of what I hope to be.

David Harnish and Steven Cornelius were the first ethnomusicology professors I met when I began my academic journey. I am forever indebted to you both for introducing me to the field, providing constant encouragement, and pushing me to test my limits, leave my comfort zone, and question everything. Thank you, David, for making me play *sangsih* my first semester of Balinese gamelan.

I am incredibly grateful for Ricardo Trimillos who agreed to guide and mentor me following his retirement. Thank you, Ric, for your thoughtful and difficult questions. Your acute insight has strengthened my work and challenged my ideas. I hope one day my students will speak of me with as much love and respect as yours speak of you.

From a very young age, my mother and father encouraged my voracious reading and insatiable curiosity. Thank you, Mom and Dad, for always believing in me. Hilary Strohschein,

my friend and sister, thank you for always knowing just what to say. You all have been a constant source of support and encouragement, more than you will ever know.

I dedicate this dissertation to my husband, Daniel H. Schellhas. Dan, you have been my rock. My travels took me far away for long periods of time, but your belief and faith in me has never waivered. Your willingness to play devil's advocate has helped me identify my own assumptions and biases and strengthened me as a student, scholar, and a teacher. I would not be where or who I am today without your love and support. This is only the beginning, and I look forward to a lifetime of travel and music with you.

Abstract

This dissertation explores the potential of affinity through close work with two community gamelan ensembles: Naga Mas in Glasgow, Scotland and the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa’s Javanese Gamelan Ensemble (UHJGE) in Honolulu, Hawai‘i. Through ethnographic fieldwork and musical analysis, I offer a detailed examination of how people in Western countries create new contexts for Javanese gamelan by incorporating it into their life stories—narratives individuals tell about themselves to explain personal values and motivations. It is through life stories that gamelan members construct systems of coherence, varied connections that make their involvement in—and indeed, the very fact of—gamelan outside of Indonesia make sense. These filaments of coherence bind together to present a more nuanced interpretation of affinity.

Community groups like Naga Mas and the UHJGE have been overlooked in ethnomusicological scholarship in part because of their designation as affinity communities. I argue for a reexamination of this term as it has been inadequately defined and not given as much attention as other categorizations of community. Without theorizing affinity communities, we lose out on understanding how these groups of individuals function, how they perceive authenticity, appropriation, and agency in the 21st century, and where true affinity and community lie.

Because Mark Slobin’s definition of affinity intercultures has become the standard within ethnomusicological and cultural scholarship, many scholars do not investigate beyond surface understanding of the term affinity. Likewise, a constructed ethnomusicological gamelan grand narrative has historically discouraged scholarly interest in these groups. Close work with current and former members of Naga Mas and the UHJGE reveals, however, various dimensions of

affinity—much more than choice and desire assumed by previous research—as well as a rich, mostly untapped fount of music, behaviors, histories, and idea(l)s contributing to the global gamelan culture. I ultimately propose my own, expanded definition of affinity community and create a framework which includes and outlines the numerous and expandable dimensions of affinity.

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Style Conventions

Key Signatures

I have transcribed the pieces in the *Lokananta Suite* into Western notation. The key signatures used should not be taken as strictly functional but only as short cuts for the pitches used in each tune. For example, "Ca' the Yowes" and "Wong Donya" both use key signatures with two flats. This is to indicate that pitch 4 (A-flat) is not used in these pieces, but pitch 5 (A-natural) is. "Mairi's Wedding" utilizes a key signature with three flats to indicate that pitch 4 is much more prevalent than pitch 5.

"Gamelunk" is in F dorian and as such uses the E-flat key signature. The A-naturals are for melodic color.

Titles of Pieces

It is difficult to standardize titles of gamelan pieces which include multiple *gendhing*. Sometimes connecting words such as (*m*)*inggah*, *kalajengaken*, (*ka*)*seling*, and *dhawa* are used, for example:

> Rena-rena *minggah* Ketawang Kinanthi Sandhung *kalajengaken* Slepeg (program notes, April 1992)
>
> Gangsaran *seling* Ladrang Gajah Endro (program notes, Nov. 1980)

Sometimes dashes or commas are used between titles in a suite, for example:

> Gendhing-Gendhing Dolanan Glathik Glindhing – Emplek-Emplek Ketepu – Suwe Ora Jamu

Still other times, both are used in combination, for example:

> Pathetan Jugag, Ada-Ada Greget Saut, Lancaran Bendrong *seling* Ladrang Pucung Rubuh (program notes, Feb. 1979)
>
> Gendhing Jungkang, *minggah* Ladrang Clunthang Mataraman – Ayak-Ayakan – Srepegan (program notes, April 2010)

The connecting words indicate specific musical structures and relationships. In the first example above, "Ketawang Kinanthi Sandhung" is used as the *minggah*, or second section, of "Rena-rena." In the subsequent example, "Ladrang Gajah Endro" is inserted (*seling*) into the Gangsaran. For those titles without connecting words, each piece transitions directly into the next with no specific recognition given to musical or formal relationships. For example, from the title, we have no clear indication of the relationship between "Emplek-Emplek Ketepu" and "Suwe Ora Jamu." When the relationship is important, it is indicated through a combination of commas, dashes, and connecting words.

In the body of my text, I have copied each title exactly how it was presented in printed concert programs, pamphlets, newspaper clippings, and other print materials.

Use of Pronouns

Throughout my dissertation, I frequently use the third person plural pronoun "they" to describe the UHJGE and Naga Mas, both singular nouns. I do this, rather than use the singular pronoun "it," in order to reinforce the idea that the UHJGE and Naga Mas are communities of human beings not entities which exist separately from the people who create and maintain them. I, therefore, find it appropriate to refer to the actions of these groups as "their actions" rather than "its actions."

Names of Gamelans

It is generally common practice to italicize the names of gamelans (e.g., *Sekar Jaya*, *Sekar Petak, Kyai Mendung*). For this reason, I italicize the name of the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa's set of gamelan instruments: *Kyai Gandrung*. I do not italicize Naga Mas as it is the name of the performing group, not the name of the gamelan instruments. I further choose not to italicize Spirit of Hope—the set of instruments Naga Mas uses—because it is always given in English.

Readers will note that I differentiate between Naga Mas and Spirit of Hope, and the UH Javanese Gamelan Ensemble and *Kyai Gandrung*. This is because many people I spoke to over the course of my fieldwork insisted that the names of the gamelan instruments were not synonymous with the names of the performing ensembles. This attitude is undermined somewhat by the fact that the UHM's Balinese ensemble refers to itself as *Segara Madu*. In this sense, the same name refers to the set of instruments and the performing ensemble. This attitude is also closely examined in Chapter 8.

The University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa

For convenience, and except for quotations from published sources, I use the abriviation UHM to denote the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa.

Preface: My Journey to Gamelan

As a topic for my dissertation, the subject of gamelan did not come easily. Gamelan is somewhat ubiquitous in the world of ethnomusicology. Even scholars who specialize in other areas know *something* about gamelan. Jaap Kunst and Mantle Hood, important arbiters of ethnomusicology, are also connected to gamelan. In fact, my very first introduction to the ensemble came through the apparently obvious pairing of gamelan and ethnomusicology. In 2002, I transferred to Bowling Green State University (BGSU) in Ohio because, at the time, they were one of the few (or perhaps the only) state universities in the Midwest to offer an undergraduate degree in world music. I still had only a hazy notion of what ethnomusicology was at the time and certainly no inkling of what lay ahead of me. When explaining my desired degree to my academic advisor, he exclaimed, "Oh, you're in world music. Then we'll put you in the gamelan class." I agreed, not knowing how much this small but powerful association would affect the course of my academic career; indeed, at the time, I did not even know what a gamelan was. But since this very first introduction to ethnomusicology, gamelan has been there.

To the end of my bachelor's and all through my master's degree programs, gamelan was there. Each semester, I arranged my course schedule around the Balinese gamelan class. I started showing up early and staying late to rehearsals, and eventually Dr. David Harnish, who taught the gamelan class at that time, gave me a key to the gamelan room. In retrospect, this may have been to get me out of his hair, but I treasured that key and the confidence and responsibility it represented. I will not say that I got all my friends hooked on gamelan. I will only say that all my friends spent at least one semester in the gamelan class, and toward the end, we were transporting and setting up the instruments on stage for the end-of-semester World Percussion

Night before Harnish even got to the building. My then boyfriend, now husband, and I co-wrote a piece for our last year with several other "gamelan groupies."

In 2010, I moved to Honolulu to begin coursework on my PhD at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. I was there for less than a week before seeking out the Balinese gamelan community group (*Segara Madu*) and, of course, one of the first things I registered for was the Javanese gamelan class. I did this, not only because I loved Balinese gamelan at BGSU and not only because I was eager to learn Javanese gamelan as well, but because for me, gamelan means ethnomusicology.

Because of this close and commonsensical association, when it came time to choose a dissertation topic, gamelan seemed a sure fit, but I was uncertain. For years I resisted even considering the idea because I questioned what more needed to (or even could) be said on the subject. My experiences with *Kusuma Sari* at BGSU, and *Segara Madu* and the UH Javanese Gamelan Ensemble (UHJGE) at UHM made me very curious about gamelan use outside of Indonesia. I knew, from years of experience, that even university gamelan classes result in so much more than a grade at the end of the semester. And learning from members of *Segara Madu* and particularly from the UHJGE, I began to see the importance and complexities of community gamelan ensembles. However, because of attitudes and assumptions regarding "academic" and "community" gamelans (see in particular Chapter 2), I hesitated. For me, the performance of gamelan in all its facets—what I call "gamelaning"—outside of the country of origin is an important part of ethnomusicological history even as it is often overlooked by ethnomusicology itself. Members of the UHJGE are directly connected to the first instigation(s) of gamelan in the United States. Pak Hardja Susilo's tutelage under Mantle Hood as an ethnomusicology student and (many would argue) Susilo's tutelage *of* Hood in gamelan only serve to further support the

interconnectedness of ethnomusicology and gamelan. Susilo's work with gamelan students in Hawai'i and the longevity of the UHJGE point to the importance of gamelan alongside strictly academic goals. Yet even in sources that directly reference the ethnomusicology program at UHM, and the Javanese gamelan in particular, almost no mention is made of the history, dedication, or motivations of this group. Could it be, as some seem to imply, that this group is not worthy of ethnomusicological consideration?

While I was in Hawai'i, enthusiastically playing gamelan but struggling with intellectual implications, I reconnected with some old gamelan friends in Scotland. The Glasgow City Council owns a set of Javanese gamelan instruments, and my friends use them in ways that fascinate and delight me. Every new project I witnessed or heard about spoke to me musically even as it intrigued me academically: they paired the Javanese/Balinese story of Calonarang with the Scottish legend of the Cailleach; they collaborated with a Highland bagpiper; they arranged Scottish folk songs for performance with gamelan; they created *lancaran*[1] based on inscriptions found on standing stones;[2] they performed jazz pieces for gamelan and flugelhorn. Their approaches to gamelan seemed near polar-opposite to that of the UHJGE, but I wondered if some of their motivations and drives might be the same. I looked at these two groups, preserving traditional music and creating new works, and wondered why no one had considered their musical contributions to the world.

Much has been written on the subject of musical and cultural appropriation, of fusion and hybridity, particularly in this age of globalization. Scholars have likewise commented on the interplay between local and global and the glocalization of various commodities. The focus of these discussions often center on the "McDonaldization" of the non-Western world and the fear of a cultural gray-out. At the same time, various scholars proclaim that the West is "cultureless"

and therefore bound to appropriate from others. While acknowledging the veracity in the former sentence, I was and am not ready to concede the latter. Rather, I want to understand the motivations of Western ensembles, communities, and individuals. I want to learn how they see the world and understand what they bring with them to the performance of Javanese gamelan music, something far outside their cultural heritage. I want to hear the connections they draw between gamelan and their lifeworlds and to see how those connections are made manifest in the world. I want to understand the results of appropriation and cultural borrowing. That is the purpose of this dissertation and the focus that drives my research.

CHAPTER 1 Background, Methodologies, and Theoretical Models

Introduction

Gamelaning[1] is inherently communal. From building connections between individuals to bridging social divides, music in general often serves as a bonding medium. Ethnomusicologists have often referenced these communal attributes, particularly when it comes to Javanese gamelan ensembles. However, few have engaged with emic views of Western community music groups, particularly those who play, learn, and teach non-Western music.[2] My dissertation is a detailed examination of how people in Western countries create new contexts for Javanese gamelan by incorporating it into their life stories. Using archival research, ethnographies, musical analyses, observations of and experiences with these members, I reveal the depth of contexts created for gamelan outside of Indonesia. Without understanding affinity communities, we risk, as Michelle Bigenho has suggested, the "mere dismissal" of groups who play "someone else's music" (2012). We lose out on understanding how these affinity communities function, how they perceive agency, authenticity, and appropriation in the 21st century, and where true affinity and community lie.

This first chapter introduces my research goals and premises, contextualizes my work within the ethnomusicological literature on gamelan outside of Indonesia, explains my approach to ethnography, introduces the theoretical frameworks which inform my work, presents my field research methodologies, and concludes with a chapter summary.

My research goals were three-fold: 1) to examine why community gamelan groups appear to be overlooked/unspecified in research on gamelan outside of Indonesia; 2) to understand the *ideal*izations and the *real*izations of community; and 3) to consider the potential

of affinity as a descriptor for these kinds of communities. These goals are directed at formulating a more nuanced understanding of why Westerners play non-Western music.

These goals suggested three premises: 1) that Western groups create new contexts for non-Western music, but community gamelans are overlooked in this regard because of a "gamelan grand narrative" established by the field of ethnomusicology; 2) community, as a concept, is capable of encompassing both positive and negative attributes; and 3) Mark Slobin's definition of "affinity intercultures"—"charmed circles of like-minded music-makers drawn magnetically to a certain genre that creates strong expressive bonding" (2000, 98)—is valid but limited. To test these premises, I worked closely with two community gamelan groups: Naga Mas in Glasgow, Scotland and the University of Hawai'i Javanese Gamelan Ensemble (hereafter UHJGE) in Honolulu, Hawai'i.

After eight years as a member and participant in various Javanese and Balinese gamelan classes and community groups, in the United States and abroad, it became imperative to me to understand how and why these varied ensembles are constructed and maintained; not only to address the lacuna in the ethnomusicological literature, but also because of a growing phenomenon stated candidly by American gamelan composer Jody Diamond in "What is Gained, And Lost, When Indonesian Gamelan Music is Americanized?" (2014): "I've been playing gamelan since I was 17. That's like 43 years ago . . . So do I have the right to say, 'This is my music?'" Diamond's question was rhetorical, but as more people in Western countries grow up and grow old playing gamelan, this question becomes more pertinent for ethnomusicologists. It is vital to listen to members of these local community groups who play, study, perform, and teach gamelan far from its country of origin. They are our peers, our allies, and in many cases, ourselves.

In order to understand affinity communities, one needs a clear picture of what affinity can mean and encompass. I argue for a more well-defined identification than what is offered by popular use of this term; one that is more tangible than other definitions offered by Arjun Appadurai (1996), Mark Slobin (2000), Kay Kaufman Shelemay (2011), and others. Additionally, ethnographic work with groups potentially defined as affinity communities is vital to determine their characteristics. Statements from members of these groups regarding their impressions of and philosophies concerning affinity and community are key to understanding how these groups function. These include stories about how and why members joined their gamelan communities, what has kept them with the groups for years (and sometimes decades), the role they believe their community gamelan plays in the larger context of their respective local communities, and how they perceive community in light of their participation in gamelan.

In order to analyze this information, I draw on linguist Charlotte Linde's approach to and definition of life stories and coherence systems (1993). My analysis of gamelan members' life stories reveals the coherence principles and systems that bolster individuals' and groups' perceptions of community and show how these groups define and perform community. Coherence is manifested through language, behavior, and memory and is discussed in this dissertation through music (performance practice, repertoire, and creation). Analysis of these performative acts of community can reveal more profound motivations for Western use of non-Western music than have been previously considered and can give insight into how small groups of people respond to the globalization of culture. Understanding the groups' coherence systems gives us specific information on how these communities function. This, in turn, reveals the nuance and complications of affinity communities and the need to discuss their attributes more clearly.

Here, I include two short vignettes of experiences I had during my fieldwork with the Honolulu-based UHJGE and the Glaswegian-based Naga Mas. While the ethnographic sites are different—culturally, economically, geographically, politically—each raises tantalizing questions regarding gamelan use outside of Indonesia and, perhaps even more importantly, about how and why the participants create and perform community.

Honolulu

"Put your feet together!" Pattie Dunn's admonition forces me to realize how hard it really is to stand with one's feet together. It is April 21, 2012, the night of the gamelan performance at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Most of the women who play in the Javanese ensemble are getting dressed. I stare at my toes and the top of Pattie's head while she wraps and rewraps my *kain.*[3] Making some comment about the length of my legs, she fusses and pulls until it falls correctly. She takes the *stagen*[4], hands me one end of it (I am complacent in my bondage), and begins wrapping. This is the worst part; with my feet together, I have very little balance. Pattie is pulling so tightly, I am on the verge of falling over. Why is this *stagen* so long? Why does it have to be so tight? The *selamatan*[5] had just finished, so we all have full bellies. This is the fourth time I have performed with the Javanese gamelan so the process is not new. I breathe in, using my diaphragm to push my stomach out a little, fighting for that last bit of room. Pattie is not having any of it and just wraps tighter. Even though I have heard the story many times, there are newcomers among us today, so Pattie tells us how her teacher in Java always commented on her weight whenever she dressed like this.

"Do you know what's sexy for Javanese men?" she asks. "It's the line from a woman's thigh to her knee. That's why the *kain* is wrapped so tightly." Fair enough; we are always doing

things to impress or attract someone, but what are the men in the gamelan doing for us? I asked that question last year but did not get a reply. I decide to stay quiet this year.

Pattie is done with me. She moves on to the next woman while I bend at the knees to pick up my *kabaya*[6]; my torso will remain rigid for the next four or five hours. Somehow the *kabaya* makes it better. Nothing is looser; I still cannot breathe very well, but the *kabaya* completes the picture. Many of the women dressing with me are wearing clothes they had made during trips to Java. While the style of dress is similar, the patterns and colors are different for each woman.

"Take little steps!" Pattie says, "Don't walk like you're a linebacker." I manage to heel-toe myself over to the mirror. "In Java," she says, "they say a beautiful woman walks like a hungry tiger." How is that even possible? In the Malay world, tigers were wild, untamed arbiters of destruction and righteous revenge. I suppose that when a tiger is hungry, it will be stalking something; it will walk slowly, deliberately, and purposefully. But it would *not* take these tiny, painful steps! How do I walk like a Javanese woman, Pattie? Maybe more importantly, *why* am I walking like a Javanese woman? I glance in the mirror again. Pale skin, green eyes, blonde hair; my Javaneseness is elusive. At least this year my *konde*[7] is not black.

Glasgow

One week after the events described above, I was in England, at the University of York, for the Gathering of the Gamelans Conference. This was my second time to the United Kingdom to conduct fieldwork with Naga Mas who were also attending and performing at the conference. The four-day event boasted presenters and gamelan musicians and groups from all over the UK. The conference culminated in *Wayang Lokananta, The Gamelan of the Gods*, an all-night *wayang kulit*[8] performance which told the story of how music and the gamelan instruments came

into the world. While there was a single *dhalang* (puppeteer) leading the *wayang*, the musical accompaniment was divided among eleven UK gamelan groups. Each group was responsible for about an hour of music throughout the night's performance. Naga Mas' hour of music coincided with the appearance of two jovial Javanese court servant characters: Cangik (the mother) and Limbuk (her daughter). They appeared at about 12am when the *dhalang* took a break from the regular story.

While the musicians settled themselves, Cangik discussed "traditional" aspects of Scottish culture, such as whiskey and bagpipes, with Limbuk. As the audience chuckled, Cangik revealed the presence of a bagpiper in their midst, and Naga Mas immediately began playing "Iron Pipes," their signature gamelan/bagpipe piece. Audience members clapped their hands over their ears as Hazen Metro, Naga Mas' piper, entered the scene and stood among the gamelan players. Later, commenting on Metro's attire—the Indonesian *batik* shirt worn by all participating gamelan members and a Scottish kilt—Cangik flirtatiously asked if real men wore skirts. Metro replied that real *Scotsmen* wore skirts, but then had to admit that he was from Vermont, not Glasgow. The Scottish accent continued throughout Naga Mas' hour of music with arrangements of "Ca' the Yowes," a song by Robert Burns, and "Mairi's Wedding," a popular Scottish folk song by John Roderick Bannerman.

In addition to highland bagpipes, Scottish folksongs, and Javanese gamelan music, Naga Mas also performed some Balinese gamelan music. At one point, Cangik asked J. Simon van der Walt, a long-time member of Naga Mas, to demonstrate *kecak*.[9] Simon immediately turned to the other members of Naga Mas who enthusiastically responded. His efforts to engage the audience were less successful, but Cangik seemed pleased. After this demonstration, Naga Mas also

accompanied a Balinese dancer who provided another interlude to the *wayang*. I sat in the middle of the noise, the music, and the incense, bathed in the sights and sounds of Java and Scotland.[10]

Contextualizing Performance

Understanding each vignette in the context of their respective gamelan communities helps us understand how and why they are important. Dunn's transmission of her knowledge and understanding of Javanese culture manifests itself physically through clothing and in the performers' bodies. This functions as part of Dunn's life story (see Chapter 4) and also contributes to the UHJGE's sense of communal identity. This focus on Javanese clothing and a perceived Javanese ideal of beauty may seem, from the outside, like an exoticization of Javanese culture. For members of this gamelan community, however, it is a desire—almost a demand—for respectful treatment of lessons they have internalized as part of their own life stories. It is evidence of the representational authority invested in members by Pak Hardja Susilo (see Chapter 6). It is also an acknowledgement and a visual indication of which community one belongs to and reveals how there is much more to gamelan affinity communities than simply a participant's interest in exotic-sounding music.

During *Wayang Lokananta*, Naga Mas created symbolic boundaries (see Chapter 3)—sonically through the use of highland bagpipes, Scottish folk songs, *kecak*, and Balinese music—to differentiate themselves from the other gamelan groups. Their decision to include specifically Scottish music at an English gamelan event solidified their standing as the "Scottish" gamelan; Metro's desire for self-identification as a "real Scotsman," despite his American origins, lends credence to this standing. It also singled them out as the one group that created space for Javanese and Scottish music and culture to interact; none of the other gamelans from England or

Ireland at the York Conference included their own culture's music during their performances. Naga Mas exemplified specific ways that gamelan could be used to simultaneously present a Javanese *wayang kulit* and a platform for Scottish cultural expression.

The above ethnographic descriptions thus address some issues and subtle complexities of gamelan affinity communities outside of Indonesia. They also, as this dissertation argues, exemplify new contexts created for gamelan(ing) in resignified spaces. The following section contextualizes both the UHJGE and Naga Mas within the wider world of globalized gamelan.

Community Gamelans Outside of Indonesia

The international spread of gamelan offers compelling examples of globalization, hybridity, and glocalization. The exportation of gamelan instruments, either pre- or newly-forged sets, has become a legitimate online business. Barry Drummond's *Gendhing Jawa* website offers numerous free versions of Javanese gamelan repertoire. As of this writing, YouTube alone features over 60,500 professional and amateur videos of Javanese gamelan performances, recorded in Java and elsewhere. Additionally, there are musicians and teachers—some from Indonesia, most not—who perpetuate Javanese gamelan traditions in schools, universities, academies, museums, and as part of community projects. J. Simon van der Walt—composer, jazz musician, and head of master's students and conducting coordinator at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland as well as Naga Mas' treasurer—commented that it has never been easier to see, hear, learn, and perform gamelan music.

Scholarly attention to gamelan outside Indonesia has been, to this point, mainly focused on gamelan's connection to and relationship with academia. Community gamelan groups all over the world are, however, playing, adapting, teaching, arranging, and composing gamelan music.

More than this, they are creating localized musics and practices based on varied knowledge of Javanese gamelan traditions. They are bringing local customs into contact with gamelan instruments and realizing local folk music arranged for gamelan. They are also perpetuating traditions passed on to them by Javanese teachers and internalizing moral lessons as part of their own code of ethics.

Both the UHJGE and Naga Mas clearly demonstrate how gamelan music and expressive culture are tied closely to local institutions, how non-Western musics and instruments are made to fit in new contexts, and how the use of such music and instruments can become expressions of local philosophies and beliefs. As a phenomenon, gamelan outside of Indonesia shows how (and if) people perceive issues of appropriation, hybridity, agency, authenticity, and authority; it illustrates how people utilize the products of globalization; it highlights issues of contemporary musical borrowing; and it allows us to examine how (and if) people engage with their own cultures' music and practices while existing in multicultural milieus. While there are many additional gamelan groups outside of the United States and Western Europe, for this dissertation I am focusing on two (arguably) Western groups, as that designation brings its own unique assumptions regarding power, appropriation, and acquisition.

Exploration of the ethnomusicological literature reveals that, while many people have written about gamelan outside of Indonesia,[11] these works address Western compositional interest in gamelan, Western theories on gamelan, queries into how gamelan has been used historically on Western stages, and gamelan's rapid infiltration of Western academia and education following Jaap Kunst's and Mantle Hood's work. None of them, however, mentions the rise of gamelan ensembles outside of Indonesia as community-based endeavors. Maria Mendonça's dissertation, *Javanese Gamelan in Britain: Communitas, Affinity and Other Stories*

(2002), provides a detailed look at how specific social, cultural, and educational situations in Great Britain[12] helped facilitate Javanese gamelan's "naturalization" there. While she describes many groups that are or could be considered community ensembles, she does not adequately define them as such. Another, more recent, dissertation on gamelan groups outside of Indonesia is Peter Steele's *Balinese Hybridities: Balinese Music as Global Phenomenon* (2013). While Steele's metaphor of the meme—Balinese gamelan as "an infinitely variable unit of cultural imitation" (10)—is apt, his focus is on the music itself or specific composers, rather than the groups of people who play it. Chapter 5 does discuss two specific music creators in Naga Mas but also demonstrates how their philosophies regarding music creation affect and include the community as a whole.

A significant portion of the well-known pedagogical work *Performing Ethnomusicology: Teaching and Representation in World Music Ensembles* (Solís 2004) is dedicated to the teaching of gamelan in the context of university performance ensembles. While the book's subtitle seems to reference only those ensembles present in the academy, this need not be a foregone conclusion; teaching, learning, and representation exist in many different circumstances. The absence of any consideration of community gamelan ensembles is therefore striking, particularly considering that Pak Hardja Susilo (here after Susilo)—who aided Mantle Hood in establishing the gamelan performance study groups at UCLA and the founder the UH Javanese Gamelan Ensemble—is given a full chapter to discuss his thoughts about and experiences in establishing gamelan groups in the United States. While Susilo briefly mentions the formation of the community ensemble in Honolulu, the bulk of his chapter is dedicated to teaching gamelan in an American university.[13] In his most recent book, Sumarsam is also curiously silent on the subject of community gamelans, though he dedicates a significant section

to the history of academic gamelan groups (2013). The same is true for R. Anderson Sutton's earlier article in *Studi Gamelan Jawa di Luar Negeri* (1985). Published as a series of lectures for Bahasa Indonesia-readers, Sutton's article tries to explain the allure of Javanese gamelan for the American student. He wrote about several American academic gamelans, including the one at UHM, but did not mention the community ensemble.

Reasons for this particular dearth of information on community gamelan groups is explored more fully in Chapter 2, but one potential reason for this disinterest may be tied to issues of Western influence, borrowing, and engagement with the "Other." The notion of Western influence carries with it, not unfounded, negative connotations associated with colonialism and imperialism. Deborah Root vociferously condemns what she calls the "cannibalization" of culture by Westerners or the "Western disease of alienation" (1996, 155). Matthew Cohen, speaking specifically of the initial encounter between Western countries (those of Western Europe and the United States) and Javanese *wayang kulit*, posits that this situation, "articulated a pattern of colonial exploitation" (2007, 350). Jaap Kunst decries Western influence as "corrosive acid" (from Steele 2013). Judith Becker did not hold out much hope for the integrity of Javanese gamelan in the West, writing, "ultimately, if the gamelan is to ever be more than an exoticism in American musical life, it will have to compromise its Javaneseness" (1983, 88). Carolyn Johnson writes that Americans are inevitably bound by "the historical fetters of Western colonial relations with peoples and cultures such as Java" (1989, 54). The list could go on. The idealism of postcolonialism has not adequately addressed grievances or suggested completely satisfactory ways of moving forward.

Rather than continue in this vein, however, my work seeks to understand how the recipients of these accusations—the Westerners who play gamelan—perceive their actions and

how they justify their adaptations. This may help scholars move beyond the "value-laden language of cultural theft and appropriation" (Bigenho 2012, 28) to understand what is being created musically and culturally in these affinity communities. Consequently, while exoticism and issues of authenticity do play a role in gamelan's use outside Indonesia, they will only be touched on lightly in this dissertation. They have been discussed elsewhere.[14] I am interested in other aspects of affinity suggested by my work with Naga Mas and the UHJGE. My work here is thus not really about Java but more about the perceived relationships of these two community gamelans with Java and the real or imagined authority and authenticity that may or may not originate there.

Multi-Sited Ethnography: Methodologies and Two Gamelans

George Marcus has written that multi-sited ethnography "defines for itself an object of study that cannot be accounted for ethnographically by remaining focused on a single site of intensive investigation" (1995, 96). Gamelan outside of Indonesia, as an object of study, is necessarily multi-sited. The ethnomusicological literature on gamelan usually includes descriptions and analyses of multiple gamelan ensembles, music, cultures, composers, and innovators (Mendonça 2002; Jocuns 2005; Cohen 2010; Steele 2013; House 2014; Spiller 2015).[15] For this dissertation, both depth and breadth interest me, but given practical limitations, I compromised by focusing intensely on two specific sites.

Marcus suggests several points an ethnographer may "follow" in order to construct the multi-sited space through which she must travel. His "Modes of Construction" invite the ethnographer to follow the people (Cohen); follow the thing (House); follow the metaphor (Mendonça); follow the plot, story, or allegory (Steele); follow the life or biography (Spiller); or

follow the conflict. My focus on the life stories of non-indigenous participants of community gamelan groups in Western countries allows me to follow all six Modes of Construction.

I became interested in community gamelan members after personal experiences with gamelan in Ohio, Hawai‘i, Wisconsin, and Scotland and after learning of other recent gamelan initiatives in the United States and abroad.[16] While there are some “big names” in the gamelan world associated with these projects (Judith Becker and I Made Lasmawan, for example), they were instigated and supported by non-specialized, non-academic people who are committed to playing gamelan.

I chose to concentrate on the amateur gamelan player because it presents a unique perspective from which to view gamelan communities *and* the individuals who create them. Most other works on gamelan outside of Indonesia focus on (semi-)professional performing groups (Mendonça; Steele; Cohen) or the professional, specializing individual (Cohen; Spiller). While Spiller and Cohen in particular try to present these individuals as “ordinary” people, they still focus on those who have made it their life’s work to make a living off of performing or teaching Javanese gamelan music and dance. I am interested in the amateurs, the people who do not see gamelan performance solely as a form of income and who do not have an academic stake in the group.

This leads me back to Naga Mas and the UHJGE. Both of these groups have “big names” associated with them: Harda Susilo, Joko Susilo, Ki Widiyanto, I Nyoman Wenten, Alec Roth, and John Pawson to name a few; Naga Mas has even performed for the Queen of England. Both of these communities, however, have lasted for decades in no small part because of the members’ hard work and dedication. I was curious to know where this dedication came from, how it manifested itself, and how it has shaped the individual gamelan community groups.

Holistic analysis of both of these community gamelans can help answer these questions and provide a framework for understanding other gamelan groups, as well as other affinity community music ensembles.

I chose these two specific groups for several reasons. First, and perhaps most obvious, is the fact that I have years of experience with both ensembles. I first met members of Naga Mas in 2007, and I began playing with the UHJGE in 2010. This close association has both pros and cons. Being a member of the UHJGE and an honorary member of Naga Mas allows me an insider's view of and position in both groups. Because of my experience with more traditional Javanese and Balinese gamelan, for example, members of Naga Mas have welcomed my help with their beginner's workshops. This closeness has, however, led to assumptions and conclusions on my part that other, more long-term members have needed to correct.

Additionally, I have known Naga Mas longer but participated more intensely with the UHJGE.[17] To address this, I try to give equal time and treatment to the analyses of both groups, and these analyses include both quantitative archival work and qualitative ethnography. The inclusion of both creates a solid foundation for understanding each groups' activities and philosophies and allows for different insider and outsider interpretations of said activities and philosophies.

The second reason I chose these two particular community gamelans is because, as a colleague stated, "With these gamelans, you couldn't get any farther apart without moving closer." At first glance, their attitudes toward gamelan, their musical output, their situations within and without an institutional affiliation, even their behavior and dress seem antithetical. Thus, these gamelan groups are two unique examples of the possibilities of affinity community. I strive for a holistic approach to each community gamelan and discover coherence in their music,

creators/compositions, behavior, philosophies, history, influences, impact, dress/adornment, and pedagogies. This close analysis reveals the contexts created for resignified musical traditions.

The third reason I chose these two gamelan groups is because of their distinctive musical output. Naga Mas plays traditional Javanese gamelan music (usually single *lancarans* or *ladrangs*[18]), newly composed or devised works by members of the ensemble, and Scottish folk songs and bagpipe tunes arranged for gamelan. While a few members of Naga Mas are trained and/or professional composers, a sizeable selection of their repertoire has been created by regular members particularly for their show, *Gamelan Untethered* (see Chapter 5). In her dissertation, *Strange Flowers: Cultivating New Music for Gamelan on British Soil* (2014), Ginevra House analyzes the work of eleven different composers (including Margaret Smith, a member of Naga Mas). The majority of these composers have degrees in composition and have spent a significant amount of time playing and studying traditional Javanese or Balinese gamelan, often in Indonesia. While House, perhaps channeling Neil Sorrell, worries about the "pale pastiche"[19] of pieces written without deep knowledge of and experience with traditional Javanese gamelan practices, I am interested in the music created out of this very scenario: how do people with varying degrees of knowledge of gamelan write music for gamelan? What does it sound like? What does it mean to them? Additionally, why does the group arrange such specifically Scottish music to be played on and with gamelan instruments? What are the musical results of such collaborations? While pieces like this run the risk of exoticizing their source material or being perceived as exotic for the sake of exoticism, they also provide an opportunity to understand how musicians on a very local level recognize and create musical interactions.

The UHJGE also has a fascinating, albeit very different, musical repertoire. For the past forty-seven years, they have focused almost exclusively on traditional Central Javanese gamelan

gendhing.[20] The one major exception happened in 1976, when Susilo co-wrote a concerto for Western orchestra and Javanese gamelan with composer Neil McKay. Despite overwhelmingly positive reviews, this piece, *Parables of Kyai Gandrung*, was never performed again; nor was the practice of composing new music for the gamelan pursued by members of the group. The majority of works played by this gamelan were transmitted from Susilo's own repertoire or learned through study in Java in the 1970s. This, as former member and ethnomusicologist Roger Vetter attests, represents a kind of "time capsule" of musical knowledge preserved by this gamelan community.

Examination of musical creativity and attitudes toward representation is vital to understanding perceptions of non-Western music in Western countries. During informal conversations and more formal interviews, issues of identity, ownership, authenticity, agency, authority, and appropriation arose many times. In our hyper-globalized world, it is important to understand how people—inside and outside of academia—interpret these issues and put them to use.

The final reason I chose these two gamelan groups is related to the first, namely my multiple positionalities within each community. In the UHJGE, I am unquestionably a student; a student's student, if you will, as many of my teachers are long-time members who still identify as Susilo's students. While I was often and eagerly encouraged to play *bonang* or *peking* during pieces which featured complicated elaborating parts for those instruments, I was never consulted on questions regarding form, style, treatment, or melody. In this context, my understanding of gamelan was far too limited, and Susilo was the final arbiter of gamelan knowledge. In Naga Mas, my position is quite different. I am considered a kind of authority and consulted on musical issues. In some cases, my musical knowledge is depended upon during workshops or classes. I

am a student only when I assert my identity as such; for example, when I asked van der Walt for a drum lesson. Members of Naga Mas maintain that knowledge is held collectively in their group; there is no one authority or leader to whom people turn if they have a question. As such, I am viewed more as an equal than as a student; I have some knowledge that can benefit the group as a whole, as do all members.

This positionality, poised as it is between two distinctive field sites, has provided me wider experiences than if I had only been a student or a colleague. It allows me unique insight into these two gamelan groups and the life stories of the individuals. The following section builds on the methodologies introduced above and presents the theoretical models used in the body of this dissertation.

Affinity and Life Stories: Theoretical Models

Affinity, as a term, is often partnered with other, more well-defined categories. For example, Slobin also writes about industrial and diasporic intercultures. The former encompasses the global music industry and has received a great deal of scholarly and ethnomusicological attention, particularly in the realm of popular music. Slobin calls this category "the creature of the commodified music system that popular music commentators often cast as a monster, a corporate octopus whose tentacles stretch menacingly across the world, dominating local scenes and choking off competition" (61).[21] Diasporic interculture refers to "linkages of subcultures set up across national boundaries" (64). This may be likened to Shelemay's descent community (2011) which she identifies as communities based on shared ethnicity, aspects of kinship, and religious or national ties. Shelemay also recognizes what she calls dissent communities, or those

which arise based on shared opposition to a generally (but not always) dominant majority. Both of these authors include an affinity category but neglect to adequately explain or theorize it.

These categories throw the language used to describe affinity communities into greater relief. This will be discussed further in Chapter 3 (see pg. 113). For now, it is worth mentioning Mendonça's conclusion that the *communitas* experienced through communal gamelan playing is "a powerful drug: once experienced, players want more" (2002, 538), as this is perhaps the most disquieting use of language to describe affinity. It paints the experience of gamelan and its music as an addictive high that people crave and continually try to replicate. In his 2005 *A Gamelan Manual*, Richard Pickvance uses slightly different wording and tone to suggest the same metaphor. Under the heading "Health Warnings" he writes, "many gamelan players suffer long-term addiction, and withdrawl symptoms appear after only a week or two without playing" (6). Even with the most objective intentions, it seems that scholars are—consciously or not—associating affinity communities with, at best, ambiguous language and at worst questionable practices.

This is a problem because these assumptions are being made without truly defining and analyzing affinity communities. Shelemay posits that traces of descent and dissent can be embedded in affinity communities that arise around music. She does not, however, extrapolate the consequences of separating these three categories. Taking Slobin's and Shelemay's classifications of community: if industrial interculture is the villain; diasporic interculture is the "Other;" descent community is "Us" (or "Them") joined through blood, marriage, or religion; dissent community is "Us" and/or "Them" united in a common goal against oppression; than affinity interculture/community is "Us"[22] somehow simultaneously absolved of any responsibility—members just really love this music—*and* guilty of cultural appropriation.

The goal of this dissertation, then, is to explore affinity community in clear and discreet forms of analysis. My intention is not to privilege the "warm and fuzziness" of community but rather to understand how the very real presence of conflict, disagreement, and misunderstanding also contribute to the identities of affinity communities which are every bit as nuanced and complicated as their more oft-referenced counterparts (see Chapter 7). Additionally, this work shows how affinity communities have a great deal more in common with, for example, descent communities, than has been previously recognized. In order to show this, one must have a way of gathering and analyzing varied individual and communal experiences. Linguist Charlotte Linde's approach to studying life stories and their underlying coherence systems offers a way to underscore individual experience as well as provide specific information on how affinity communities function, what drives members to join *and* stay in the group, and potentially address the conflict between presumed innocence and cultural theft.

Life Stories, Identity, and the Creation of Coherence

While life stories and coherence are explored in great depth in Chapter 4, it is necessary here to go into some detail in order to give the reader some context for analyses in Chapters 2 and 3. In popular parlance, one's life story is generally equated with their (auto)biography. In this sense, to tell one's life story is to relate an entire life's worth of experiences which can usually be summed up in a pithy motto, mantra, or moral. This kind of life story involves looking back on a life lived (if the subject is deceased), on a life nearly over, or on a momentous achievement or experience (if the subject is still living).

Scholars in various disciplines take different approaches to life stories.[23] Professor of psychology at Northwestern University and social scientist Dan McAdams' life-story model of

identity (1988/2008) contends that "people living in modern societies begin, in late adolescence and young adulthood, to construe their lives as evolving stories that integrate the reconstructed past and the anticipated future in order to provide life with some semblance of unity and purpose" (243). McAdams argues for conceiving of one's own life *as a story*—with plot; form, chapters, and archetypes; protagonists; antagonists; side-kicks; high, low, and turning points:

> the stories we tell ourselves in order to live bring together diverse elements into an integrated whole, organizing the multiple and conflicting facets of our lives within a narrative framework which connects past, present, and an anticipated future and confers upon our lives a sense of sameness and continuity—indeed, an identity. As the story evolves and our identity takes form, we come to live the story as we write it, assimilating our daily experience to a schema of self that is a product of that experience. Thus, in identity, life gives birth to art and then imitates it. We create stories, and we live according to narrative assumptions. (McAdams 1988, v)

This continuity and sameness, unity and purpose, are the sum total of an individual's identity (28). McAdams also contends that life stories are culturally situated and dependent; to qualify as a life story—and therefore as someone's identity—it must be culturally recognizable as a "tellable life."

Linguist Charlotte Linde takes an alternative approach to life stories. Like McAdams, Linde acknowledges life stories as culturally situated. She divorces life stories from biography, however, defining a life story as:

> [consisting] of all the stories and associated discourse units, such as explanations and chronicles, and the connections between them, told by an individual during the course of his/her lifetime that satisfy the following two criteria:
>
> 1. The stories and associated discourse units contained in the life story have as their primary evaluation a point about the speaker, not a general point about the way the world is[.]
> 2. The stories and associated discourse units have extended reportability; that is, they are tellable and are told and retold over the course of a long period of time. (21)

According to Linde, it is addressing changes in one's life where life stories are called upon most often. Life stories explain inconsistencies, discontinuities, and inadequate causality.

In her examination of life stories, Linde looks for specific vocabularies, grammars, and strategies people use to create coherence systems, "a . . . cultural device for structuring experience into socially sharable narrative. A coherence system is a discursive practice that represents a system of beliefs and relations between beliefs; it provides the environment in which one statement may or may not be taken as a cause of another statement" (Linde 1993, 163). Considering the life stories of members of Naga Mas and the UHJGE in this way helps reveal the coherence systems used to make a gamelan in Scotland and Hawai'i make sense. This, in turn, discloses the nuance and complexity of individual affinity communities.

Linde notes the importance of causality and continuity as coherence principles. There is causality in the language we use, but because of social expectations and pressures, we also attempt to show that we are "motivated by *adequate* causality" (127; my emphasis). If our actions are perceived as discontinuous, we call on different strategies to account for the discontinuity. These strategies support a series of coherence systems, which "provide a means for understanding, evaluating, and constructing accounts of experience. Thanks to that understanding, such a system may also provide, either explicitly or implicitly, a guide for future behavior" (164-65). There is a coherence system involved in Pattie Dunn's dressing of and comments to younger women in the UHJGE, and there are other coherence systems at work in Naga Mas that separate them from their English counterparts (see Chapter 4).

The approach to life stories and coherence systems advocated by Linde is very applicable to understanding gamelan affinity communities. Some of McAdams' methods and ideas are similar to Linde's, and indeed his argument that narrative consciousness begins in late

adolescence/early adulthood helps explain some of the UHJGE members' continued commitment. I ultimately found, however, Linde's definitions and methods to be the most useful and the least problematic. For example, McAdams contends that each individual has a single life story that fluctuates, adapts, and changes over time. He asserts that these stories can be read in terms of narrative form and the characters in terms of archetypes. This approach standardizes individual experience and forces it to fit a pre-existing mold. Despite McAdams' claims that life stories are culturally constituted, it is not clear who constructed the mold or how cultural differences will/should be accounted for. In contrast, for Linde, a person's total life experience is made up of individual life stories. The stories explain the person's view of themselves, of life, and of their identity. She does not view the stories in terms of generic plots or archetypes but instead focuses on what the individual says and how they say it. She then tries to understand the cultural contexts—or coherence systems—that help the individual create their life stories in the particular way they did. McAdams is searching for universals and generalizations, and while Linde does draw on pre-established coherence systems, like Freudian processes for example, her method allows the interlocutors' stories to infer new kinds of coherence systems. When working with musical communities, however, stories that exist solely as language are not enough. This is why I also view and interpret as life stories non-linguistic activities such as music, performativity, and behavior.

The Performance of Gamelan in Everyday Life

Linde is interested in coherence systems that structure how people act in the world. I am similarly interested in how non-specialist, non-professional musicians incorporate gamelan into their everyday lives or conversely, how they incorporate their everyday lives into gamelan.

Sociologist Erving Goffman has suggested that people exhibit different behaviors, "frontstage" or "backstage," depending on the situation or scenario (1959). These behaviors, while often dependent on the context in which they are performed, are still a legitimate part of the individual's identity. Performance studies theorist Diana Taylor uses scenarios—"meaning making paradigms that structure social environments, behaviors, and potential outcomes" (2007, 28)—to explain conditions in which people move and act in ways that may be more theatrical than every day behavior but which nonetheless represent aspects of an individual's or group's identity. Because of this, one should not automatically assume, for example, that Western gamelan musicians who wear traditional Javanese dress for performance are merely playing dress up. It is more worthwhile to determine how they perceive their actions as relating to their everyday lives and, therefore, identities.

Taylor's scenarios are similar to Linde's coherence systems in certain respects. Linde's, however, are built solely on language. Taylor's scenarios also include behavior itself in terms of the embodiment of social actors, the positionality of the spectator(s), the scenario's physical location, and how the scenario is transmitted. Utilizing Taylor's approach in conjunction with Linde's allows me to include behavior, performativity, and music in my understanding of community gamelan members' life stories (see Chapter 4) and ultimately in my multidimensional framework for analyzing affinity communities (see Chapter 7). Thus in addition to stories told to me in informal conversations and formal interviews, I examine gamelan members' behavior toward the instruments, toward the music (in terms of whether or not they compose/devise new music, where they find their repertoire, how they teach and/or transmit music and culture, etc.), and towards each other.

Goffman writes about barriers or boundaries that help shape a person's "frontstage" or "backstage" behavior: a door or a curtain separating, for example, the kitchen from the main dining room of a restaurant. He argues that a waitress working in said restaurant will "perform" differently depending on which side of the door or curtain she is on. Goffman's ideas, which are fairly standard in contemporary performance studies and ethnomusicological literature, hold true for community gamelan playing: once members enter the gamelan rehearsal space, for example, they remove their shoes and take care to not step over the instruments. Using life stories from individual gamelan members to focus on language, behavior, and experience reveals how, rather than the threshold of the gamelan rehearsal space functioning as only a barrier for certain kinds of behavior, it also acts as an unspoken promise of continued behavior. For members of both gamelan groups, the actions learned and cultivated in the gamelan room should manifest in other scenarios that do not include gamelan.

These theoretical models help shape my approach to ethnography and writing by allowing me to focus on linguistic, musical, and behavioral details while simultaneously pulling back to consider the wider scope and implications of these details as revealed in individual members' life stories.

Field Research Methodology

Data for this dissertation is based on various levels of interaction with Naga Mas and the UHJGE over several years. I have kept up correspondence with Naga Mas members through email, Skype, and Facebook since 2007, discussing aspects of their approach to gamelan playing and composition. From October to December, 2014 and September to November, 2015, I conducted intensive fieldwork in Glasgow, Scotland. Major components of both fieldwork trips

were: 1) interviews with current and former gamelan members, collaborators, and administrators who helped purchase the gamelan instruments in 1990; 2) participant-observation[24] of gamelan rehearsals, classes, workshops, and performances; and 3) archival research at the Mitchell Library in Glasgow, the Scottish Chamber Orchestra's headquarters in Edinburgh, and Naga Mas' personal archives.

I joined the UHJGE in 2011 after completing the Javanese gamelan class offered through UHM's music department. I played with this ensemble for two and a half years and had many formal and informal discussions on gamelan and performance practice with the members and Susilo. After moving to Ohio in 2013, I kept up correspondence with members of the group via email and Facebook and returned to Hawai‘i in April and November, 2015 to attend the memorial concert for Susilo and to conduct more focused, formal interviews. During this time I also utilized the ethnomusicology area's archive, as well as the two university libraries, for print materials pertaining to the gamelan community group and instruments.

Linde's methods also provide a helpful model for data collection and analysis. Because she was interviewing people she was not familiar with, Linde's questions needed to be significant to her interviewees but also appropriate for two people just meeting each other. Because this paralleled my own fieldwork situation, during which I interviewed many perfect strangers, I found this approach to be much more effective than the list of questions McAdams compiled for his 1995 "The Life Story Interview." McAdams and his students at Northwestern University were also working with interviewees they did not know, but McAdams' list included very personal, intimate questions that a new acquaintance may not feel comfortable answering.

Drawing on Linde's admonition that an ethnographer can learn quite a lot about an individual by asking the right questions, I formulated several specific questions to ask all

interviewees in both ensembles. Unlike Linde, who only focused on the answers to her few questions, and McAdams, who provided a long list of very leading questions, I used basic questions (e.g., When did you join the gamelan? What attracted you to it initially? What has kept you in the group all this time?) as jumping-off-points for deeper conversation and introspection. I let my interlocutors direct the flow of the conversations and asked follow up questions only for clarification. Unlike Linde, I include close examination of gamelan members' behavior toward the gamelan instruments, toward each other in the context of rehearsals/performances/workshops/social settings, and toward those members who fail to uphold understood moral and ethical principles as these also contribute to the coherence of each community. Additionally, musical analysis of newly composed works, as well as consideration of overall repertoire performed by each group, brings to light other coherence principles and systems. As evidenced in the anecdotes at the beginning of this chapter and in subsequent chapters, understanding the coherency that is invented or imagined[25] by Naga Mas and UHJGE members sheds light on their purpose, goals, and justifications.

Data from the above questions and from observations of behavior in rehearsals, performances, workshops, and social events, as well as each group's musical repertoire form the basis for the twelve dimensions used in my framework for understanding affinity and analyzing affinity communities (see Chapter 7 pg. 265).

While traditional ethnomusicological fieldwork normally includes a year or more of contiguous time in the country/culture under consideration, the arrangement of several two-month-long trips was eminently practical for this study. Naga Mas' and the UHJGE's performance schedules include months of down time between performances. Thus strategically timed fieldwork allowed for interviews to take place close to performances, giving members the

opportunity to reflect on their involvement during a time of heightened gamelan activity. Conversely, fieldwork planned during the space between performances allowed for a different kind of reflection that yielded a wider consideration of the role of gamelan in the individual members' lives.

Chapter Summary

To conclude this introduction, I offer a chapter summary. These chapters are highly intertwined, but in each, I build upon information presented in the previous chapter(s).

Chapter 2 outlines an ethnomusicological grand narrative as it applies to Javanese gamelan scholarship, suggests issues of power and history that may be addressed through consideration of affinity communities like Naga Mas and the UHJGE, and argues in favor of understanding how both grand narrative and postmodernism's *petit recits* (small narratives) may contextualize gamelan outside of Indonesia. This is accomplished, in part, through an analysis of the histories of Naga Mas and the UHJGE.

Chapter 3 takes a closer look at both the realistic and idealistic conceptualizations of "community" and "affinity." I suggest that, given the experiences related by members of Naga Mas and the UHJGE, both terms require some reevaluation. I argue that—given Anthony Cohen's symbolic boundaries, which grant that individual community members interpret their community in different ways—affinity communities are far more nuanced and complicated and capable of encompassing greater contradictions than have heretofore been considered. At the end of this chapter, I offer my definition of affinity communities, one that informs my approach to subsequent chapters.

Chapter 4 focuses on life stories through the connections individual gamelan members make between their involvement in gamelan and other aspects of their lives. I analyze verbal narrative and embodied behavior to discover how individuals make sense of gamelan. Taken together, these stories suggest several coherence principles and an overarching, guiding coherence system for each community. The stories also contribute to an understanding of the complexities of affinity communities.

In order to achieve a more holistic approach to gamelan outside of Indonesia, Chapters 5 and 6 depart from the stricter forms of comparison used in other chapters. Each examines different ways life stories are told through music. As each group's (approach to) repertoire is very different,[26] it seems appropriate to allow each its own space. This also affords me the opportunity to analyze this music, using Linde's life stories theories and methodologies, from a variety of angles apposite to each group.

Chapter 5 analyzes a selection of pieces from Naga Mas' repertoire as life stories of the composers and/or main individuals involved in their creation as well as life stories of the community as a whole. These pieces strongly suggest the use of connection, communal creative contribution, and influence as coherence principles which help Naga Mas negotiate agency. They do this to move beyond cliché and "pale pastiche" to create, devise, and perform music that speaks of and to their own personal values and experiences.

Chapter 6 examines the music performed by the UHJGE using ethnography as well as concert programs, historical documents, and print materials as the basis for analysis. I connect the UHJGE's musical repertoire to periods of Javanese history and contemporary Western gamelan pedagogy to demonstrate the viability of "standard (of) repertoire" as a means of

coherence for this community. I also explore the intersection of representation and creativity in invested authority.

Chapter 7 presents my multidimensional framework for analyzing musical affinity communities. The dimensions are suggested from the thematic subtexts evident in each gamelan group's historical happenings (Chapter 3) and from coherence principles and coherence systems demonstrated in their life stories (Chapters 4-6). This framework determines that affinity communities are much more than "charmed circles of like-minded music-makers."

Chapter 8 offers my overall conclusions and areas for further research. In this chapter, I revisit my initial premises and explore the possibilities of gamelaning, which positions gamelan as more than just music. Understanding the numerous "accents" of gamelan affinity communities in terms of their complex multidimensionality opens up wider vistas for ethnomusicology's examination of communal world music making. Musical affinity communities can teach us much about the spread and reception of globalization, the performance of glocalization, and the concern people have for cultures far from their own. The following chapter initiates this through examination of ethnomusicology's "gamelan grand narrative" and the histories of Naga Mas and the UHJGE.

CHAPTER 2 Misconceptions and Happenings: Ethnomusicology's "Gamelan Grand Narrative" and the Histories of Naga Mas and the University of Hawai'i Javanese Gamelan Ensemble

Introduction

During an ethnomusicology graduate student event at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, a professor and I started talking about potential dissertation topics. When I expressed interest in community gamelan groups as opposed to gamelan in academia, this professor looked at me strangely and said, "Well, they're just the same thing." At the time, I could only vaguely insist that they were very different, but this exchange initiated thoughts about ethnomusicological assumptions concerning community gamelan groups.

This chapter posits that the reason why community groups like Naga Mas and the UHJGE have not been part of the larger discussion on gamelan outside of Indonesia is the result of a grand narrative created for gamelan scholarship by ethnomusicology. This is a narrative that has, historically, favored the study of traditional aspects of Javanese music culture, focused on teaching Javanese gamelan through imitation, and placed an emphasis on a particular type of experience of gamelan that highlights theory and the individual while downplaying composition, creation, and communal action. Some of these issues are refuted and addressed in certain forms of gamelan pedagogy in the US and the UK and in more recent scholarship on gamelan outside of Indonesia (e.g., Clendinning 2013; Lueck 2012; Steele 2013). The net result, however, has been a narrative that glosses over groups like Naga Mas and the UHJGE despite their adherence to several of the above criteria and their contribution to gamelan as a global genre. In order to address this, this chapter outlines an ethnomusicological grand narrative as it applies to Javanese

gamelan scholarship, suggests issues of power and history that may be addressed through consideration of groups like Naga Mas and the UHJGE, and argues in favor of understanding how both grand narrative and postmodernism's *petit recits* (small narratives) may contextualize gamelan outside of Indonesia through an analysis of the histories of Naga Mas and the UHJGE.

A Gamelan Grand Narrative

According to John Stephens and Robyn McCallum, a grand narrative is "the implicit and usually invisible ideologies, systems, and assumptions which operate globally in a society to order knowledge and experience" (1998, 3). These meta-narratives are, more often than not, written and perpetuated by people in positions of power. Grand narratives imply homogeneity, often become the status quo, and work to legitimize the very histories they explain. While most grand narratives have been large, historical constructs that encompass and affect numerous cultures and countries (e.g., the Enlightenment, Marxism, etc.), I argue here that the field of ethnomusicology has created its own grand narrative for gamelan. This narrative stretches back to the beginning of the field and has only now begun to break down in light of the postmodern argument for *petit recits*, or little narratives, which more accurately reflect the contradictions and complexities of history. This grand narrative of gamelan has, nevertheless, been strong enough to affect scholarly approach to the study of the genre, ensemble, and its practitioners.

Javanese gamelan—as a high culture, non-Western court music—has been an integral part of the ethnomusicological "canon." Virginia Danielson observes that,

> In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries . . . 'the gamelan,' elegant and particularistic ensembles of Southeast Asian courts, became a mainstay for study of modal theory and performance practice, and has been central to ethnomusicological teaching in the United States . . . The current 'canon,' then, would probably include music of India, sub-Saharan Africa, 'gamelan,' and to a lesser extent the Middle East and

North Africa, with East Asia as a later addition. (2007, 227-28)

It is notable that gamelan is the only specific genre of music mentioned in Danielson's list, which otherwise covers countries, continents, and geographical locations. Danielson also writes that gamelan is often used as the representative music of all of Southeast Asia in world music and music appreciation textbooks. *Performing Ethnomusicology* (Solís 2004) features no less than four and a half chapters of the total fifteen dedicated to teaching gamelan. This speaks to gamelan's early and continued role in ethnomusicology as both a study-object for scholarship[1] and as a pedagogically ripe ensemble appropriate for collegiate students.

While Bruno Nettl[2] and Jaap Kunst[3] gave ethnomusicology general areas and definitions of musical study, Mantle Hood refined the approach to gamelan scholarship outside of Indonesia. With his performance study-groups at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), he established a model for ethnomusicological perpetuation of non-Western musics outside of their home cultures. Because of his then-innovative belief that bi-musicality was best achieved through lessons with a "master musician from another culture" (Titon 1995, 288), Hood secured positions and funding for non-Western musicians to teach his performance study-groups.[4] The ethnomusicology students who came out of this and other, similarly focused programs have retained a fondness and imperative for maintaining the gamelan tradition as it was first taught to them at the university and as they may have experienced it through trips to Java. Indeed, in a recent discussion on the Dartmouth Gamelan Listserv, gamelan scholar and teacher participants still worriedly expressed the concern that some of their pedagogical techniques may stray from these earlier teachings.

When writing of the flurry of gamelan purchases by American universities in the 1960s, Judith Becker noted that, "Given the reason for these purchases, to learn the music of another

culture, it is clear why *imitation--as accurate an imitation of the Javanese model as possible--* became the ideal for all gamelan ensembles purchased in the 1960s. For most of these ensembles, this still remains the ideal" (1983, 84; my emphasis). In the same article, Becker also acknowledges the attitude taken by American ethnomusicologists who went on to teach and establish their own gamelan ensembles:

> [I]t is hardly surprising that [performing Western music on gamelan instruments] has so rarely been [undertaken]. For the playing of new, Western music on gamelan ensembles to be acceptable, most of us (gamelan directors) would have to change our attitudes toward what we are doing, redefine our aims and rethink our motivations. (86-7)

The concern with and appreciation for the "ideal (of) imitation" is still evident in ethnomusicology today. Roger Vetter outlined a model for the superlative "gamelan program in the context of a four-year liberal arts college" (2004, 122) which would include "[deep indoctrination] into the Javanese music system" (ibid). In conversation, the current dean of the School of Pacific and Asian Studies at UHM and an ethnomusicologist with over forty years' experience with Javanese gamelan, R. Anderson Sutton, added, "I think both Roger [Vetter] and I feel, neither of us has been very interested in the whole take the instruments and maybe some of the structures and then use it as a basis for creativity. You know, self-expression, I'm not into that" (p.c. R. Anderson Sutton 4/20/15).

This ethnomusicological focus affects the perception of academic and community gamelan ensembles.To my regret, I was not able to discuss this specific topic with Susilo before his death in January, 2015. In *Performing Ethnomusicology,* however, his answer to Ted Solís' question about the "kinds of communities that grew up around and within the gamelan . . . in Hawai'i" (2004, 59) seems to suggest that Susilo did not necessarily separate the academic gamelan class from the volunteer group that meets on Saturdays. As he points out, "I have members who have been with us since 1972, 1974, and 1980, and some from last semester"

(ibid). This long-term participation of people who began as his university students, coupled with the fact that Susilo did not actively participate in the Hawaii Gamelan Society,[5] may explain his stance.

When queried about the dearth of community gamelan groups in ethnomusicological literature, Sutton suggested one reason these groups in Western countries had not been investigated might be "because it hasn't been of great interest to scholars. Why that is so is a matter for speculation, but for those 'into' gamelan, the strongest draw is to study the music as it is created and performed by Javanese (and Sundanese and Balinese, etc.) in Indonesia and, secondarily, in diasporic communities abroad (e.g. Suriname)" (p.c. R. Anderson Sutton 2/5/16). Sumarsam commented that "the majority of gamelan groups is [sic] university-affiliated. . . I am not sure that I can say it for sure, but it seems to me that's to be the case, that most gamelan groups in the US are affiliated with a university" (p.c. Sumarsam 2/13/16).

These statements reveal assumptions regarding community gamelan groups in the West, namely 1) they are not academically interesting; 2) serious scholars only want to study the source or the diaspora; and 3) they may not in fact exist as most gamelan groups are (perceived to be) affiliated in some way with academia.[6] These oversights support Neil Sorrell's contention that gamelan is firmly in the grip of the ethnomusicologists (p.c. Neil Sorrell 4/27/12). Such oversight strikes me as curious considering the nuanced relationships between gamelan community groups and academia, represented by the UHJGE, as well as the existence of long-term, strictly community gamelan ensembles, represented by Naga Mas.

Another thing that the aforementioned attitude assumes is an emphasis on a certain type of experience, namely experience that takes place in Java and with Javanese musicians. The term "experience" references processes of doing and seeing as well as the skills gained by such

processes and the length of time one spends accumulating said skills. For ethnomusicologists, experience is gained through years of musical and language study as well as through fieldwork in another country. Stephen Snow postulates that "deep learning" (1986, 204) can only take place after at least ten years of dedicated study in the culture/country of choice. While experiences are "idiosyncratically personal and individual" (Berger 2009, x), they are also closely tied to perceptions of authenticity and legitimacy. Ethnomusicologists seek out teachers and mentors with the most experience because these are the people who are best able to represent their particular musical and cultural idiom. It is through studying with highly experienced teachers that ethnomusicologists achieve bi-musicality and, therefore, their own authenticity and legitimacy (see invested authority in Chapter 6) in perpetuating a musical tradition that is, most often, outside the purview of their own culture.

Questions regarding authenticity and representation arise when anyone—scholar, performer, or ensemble—strays from this kind of deep learning (see also Chapters 5 and 6). Because culture bearers are more in the public eye and consciousness, or perhaps because documenting the histories of individuals is perceived as being easier, much of the more recent literature on gamelan outside of Indonesia has focused almost exclusively on professional musicians, composers, and scholars; in other words, it has focused on individuals, not groups or communities. Matthew Isaac Cohen's *Performing Otherness* (2010), for example, examines individual American and Western European performers and composers who adopted/adapted/claimed Javanese music and dance in the first half of the 20th century. House's aforementioned dissertation (2014) examines the work of specific British composers.[7] Steele's work (2013), likewise focuses on individual composers. Henry Spiller's *Javaphiles* (2015)

centers on four specific personalities—including Mantle Hood—who have affected Javanese gamelan's reception in the West.

I mention these works to highlight a point regarding the ethnomusicological gamelan grand narrative. Many of these works describe how gamelan is used for important facets of human life. They reveal the deep affective connections professional individuals make with Javanese gamelan music, dance, and culture. They do not, however, consider groups of people—*as groups*—who play the music non-professionally. Scholarship places emphasis on the experiences of the professional or academic individual and in so doing, creates another component of the gamelan grand narrative; one that favors the individual experience over that of the group and, I feel, produces an oversight in ethnomusicological scholarship. These types of groups contribute to global gamelan community and therefore affect how gamelan will be taught, played, and preserved into the future. It is vitally important that they join (or are added) to the on-going scholarship and research regarding gamelan.

Thus the ethnomusicological gamelan grand narrative includes several characteristics: 1) an emphasis on traditional Javanese gamelan music as it exists or existed in Java; 2) musical perpetuation that favors imitation and questions creativity;[8] and 3) an underscoring of particular types of experiences that emphasize the academic and downplay the communal. Indeed, as late as 2010, Andrew Weintraub noted "Scholars of Indonesian performing arts, including myself, have typically focused on *forms, practices, and discourses of tradition* in genres of music (e.g., *gamelan*, the gong-chime ensemble), dance (e.g., classical), and theater (e.g., *wayang*, the puppet theater)" (2010, 14; my emphasis). This is indicative of Sutton's comment above that, for serious scholars of gamelan, the best choice is to study very specific forms of traditional Javanese gamelan music in their country of origin. Community groups like Naga Mas and the UHJGE do

not fit within this particular grand narrative. They have their own approach to deep learning, varied experiences with Javanese culture bearers, and as such exist within a complicated and problematic nexus of power.

Issues of Power

It is important to note that gamelan community ensembles are rarely founded and maintained by diasporic Javanese or Indonesian communities. They may result from Javanese musicians' work through universities—like the UHJGE or other community groups in California, the Pacific Northwest, and on the East Coast of the US—but often the leaders of community gamelan groups are ethnomusicologists themselves or individuals who draw on their own experiences of university gamelan as well as personal interaction with ethnomusicological works and their own experiences in Java. It has only been within the past fifteen years that ethnomusicologists have given significant scholarly attention to Javanese gamelan outside of Indonesia. Additionally, it is only within the past seven years that scholars have focused on gamelan's use outside of academia and the varied experiences of those who perpetuate and adapt the music and culture (Cohen 2010; Mendonça 2010; Spiller 2015).

While the scathing remarks by others included in Chapter 1 suggest that the appropriation of gamelan is always already considered cultural theft, many Indonesian musicians and scholars complicate this attitude. Every Indonesian person I have met has expressed pleasant surprise and interest upon discovering that I play gamelan. One of my Indonesian language teachers, an incredibly insightful woman from Java, was fascinated by the idea of a "Scottish gamelan." Prior to every end-of-semester concert at UHM, I Made Widana reiterates to his gamelan players how proud and humbled he is that his music means so much to people so far from his home. Susilo

has spoken quite candidly on this subject, saying: "appropriate all you want. You see, it isn't like 'if you take it then I don't have it anymore.' This is a case where if you take it then we have two, you see. If other people take it, too, then we have three . . ." (in Solís 2004, 66). This is not to refute the ongoing power inequality between the United States and Indonesia or to deny Indonesia's colonial past. Nor is it to claim that my friends and teachers speak for all Indonesians. This is merely to highlight a fairly consistent attitude I have observed that runs in contrast to other stances toward non-Western music practiced and perpetuated in Western countries (see for example Wong 2004; Kelly 2004).

As gamelan groups outside of Indonesia are generally not diasporic, this kind of scenario creates a three-way power dynamic between the community gamelan members (and their own creative agency), their perceptions of authenticity and Javanese authority, and the researcher.[9] On the one hand, this tripartite of power is not so very different from that experienced by ethnomusicologists working in Java: in the role of music experts and culture bearers, my interlocutors teach me their music, their culture, and their life worlds. In the role of researcher, I observe, participate, record, analyze, and learn. On the other hand, it is not quite so simple to merely say that these community gamelan members are also acting as culture bearers for an Other's culture. As will be explored in later chapters, Naga Mas and the UHJGE perpetuate their own histories, and they create communities which include musical and cultural characteristics of Java. In responding to the globalization of culture, they work through negotiated agency and invested authority. These are an important part of their recognition of power.

Like the authors in *Performing Ethnomusicology* (2004), members of Naga Mas and the UHJGE often defer to an "expert"—usually someone with ethnic or ancestral ties to the tradition (Rasmussen 215-228)—or they will soften their authority by stating, "This is how I was taught"

(Harnish, 126-137). J. Simon van der Walt, for example, justifies his use of notation with his own students by explaining that his drumming teacher in Java used notation in their lessons (see also pg. 209). In the UHJGE, all power as related to musical knowledge was located in Hardja Susilo. Most of the members admit to feeling lost and unbalanced following Susilo's death in 2015. In these instances, a lack of power through knowledge and experience causes members of the groups to discount or downplay their own experiences in favor of a perceived higher authority.

While situating themselves in terms of a perceived Javanese authority, members of Naga Mas in particular also negotiated their positionality regarding their own creative agency.[10] While not a degree-bearing ethnomusicologist himself, van der Walt is very well-read in ethnomusicological literature and as a result is quite aware of the scholarship and attitudes that led to the gamelan grand narrative outlined above. In conversations and interviews, van der Walt seemed to feel the need to not only locate authority in his Javanese teachers but also negotiate his own knowledge and agency with me as researcher.

At one point in our discussion, van der Walt stated unequivocally that it was not my place to criticize Naga Mas' work or to suggest it was somehow lesser for not adhering to an arbitrary state of imitation and authenticity. His remarks were good-natured and not posed in an aggressively defensive manner, and when I assured him that I agreed and was in no way meaning or trying to criticize Naga Mas but was trying to understand the nature of their work, the conversation moved on naturally. The fact that van der Walt needed to voice this concern, however, reveals that, at some level, it *is* a concern. In that instant, the power dynamic became a three-way struggle for van der Walt: he needed to acknowledge the authority of his Javanese teachers, deal with his own sense of agency and creativity within Naga Mas, and clarify my

positionality as a scholar who may be questioning his motives. Van der Walt's statements work to equalize the power play between him- and myself; as a Western ethnomusicologist, I am just as much of an outsider to Javanese culture as he is, and conversely, we are both insiders to a community of people who play Javanese gamelan outside of Indonesia. As is explored further in Chapter 5, van der Walt's comments also attempt to establish a situation in which both he and his Javanese teachers may lay claim to a sense of agency and authenticity. Part of this claim comes through an engagement with history.

Engaging With and Being a Part of History

Individuals are constantly (re)interpreting and (re)engaging with the past both through memory and action. History, in the form of repeated actions and recalled memories, helps form the basis of individuals' life stories and the coherence systems which contextualize their experiences. One difficulty with grand narratives occurs when, as they are written down, they become authoritative texts and regarded as more reliable—more powerful perhaps—than oral histories. Performance studies theorist Diana Taylor (2003) argues strongly for researchers to consider and use both the archive (written) and the repertoire (oral) when constructing, relating, and performing history.

Taylor contends that history, and therefore memory, is also embodied; through performative acts, individuals and groups "[embody] practices as an important system of knowing and transmitting knowledge" (26). Ethnomusicologists, too, interact with and become part of these histories. We write history down in order to interrogate it. But to do that effectively, we have to both recognize history's fluidities and contradictions (which I think we do) *and* write those contradictions down (which I think we do not do).

Addressing the contradictions of history and memory raises important questions, as the following example from Naga Mas shows. Naga Mas members tell a story regarding the carving of thistles on their gamelan instrument casings (see Fig. 1).

Figure 1 Close up of the carvings on the Spirit of Hope's pelog saron (photo credit: author)

According to long-term members, the carvers in Java did not know what a thistle looked like, as there are no thistles in Indonesia. Somehow, someone in Java obtained a British five pence piece, which features a crowned thistle, and the carvers used that as a template. This story was told to me by several members and was also repeated to workshop and beginner's class participants. Independent confirmation of this story came to me from Joan Suyenaga, the widow of musician and instrument-maker, Pak Suhirdjan, who made the instruments used by Naga Mas. According to Suyenaga:

> The people who ordered the set asked that the logo incorporate both a map of Scotland and a thistle. The image for the latter was a bit of a puzzle (this was long before the internet provided instant communication and access to images). Someone we knew here [in Yogyakarta] had a coin, I think it was, that had a thistle on it and we used this for the logo. (p.c. Joan Suyenaga 6/3/15)

This story of the image of the thistle coming from a coin has passed into Naga Mas' lore, but Ian Ritchie, managing director of the Scottish Chamber Orchestra at the time the instruments were purchased and a key instigator of that purchase, told a different story:

> [Joan Suyenaga] wrote to me and said 'Would you like some special design on [the gamelan instruments]?' And so I got in touch with the Social Work Department and they wanted their logo, and I wanted the Scottish Chamber Orchestra's logo, but I thought this is a bit boring, just to have these sort of shields on it . . . But they said, 'is there something else?' and I said, 'Ah, what about a thistle!' Scottish symbol, the thistle. Because there are no thistles in Indonesia, I got the email [sic] back saying, 'What's a thistle?' So my PA, my secretary, who's quite a good drawer, she actually just got a bit of paper and, free-hand, just drew a thistle and we sent it by fax, and they said, 'Ah, that's a thistle!' And they just used that, that little free-hand drawing from my secretary, and they carved it. And there's a very, very funny story, because when I was in London for one of my gamelan meetings down there—this was probably in 1990—I was taken to a particular place, a sort of warehouse place, in South London where they'd proudly just taken delivery of their gamelan. It was the same makers, and we went to see it, and they were opening it and slightly scratching their heads, saying, 'Huh, it's all covered in thistles.' And I thought, 'Ah yes, they've been practicing!' [laughs] And so this South London authority which had this gamelan probably, to this day, actually don't quite understand why they've got thistles on theirs, because it's a Scottish symbol, and there it was in London. Obviously the team in Java thought they would get some practice in. I don't think it was a mistake. I think it was they were just trying it out. (p.c. Ian Ritchie 10/14/15)

Speculation regarding *how* these stories ended up being so different is beyond the scope of this chapter. What is important here is understanding what the different versions of the thistle story mean to different people and the further questions implied by the different versions. Why would each person tell the story like they do? Who has the authority to claim one story is correct and the other is false? What can these memories tell us about the coherencies different people create to make sense of their Scottish gamelan? These questions—suggested through individuals' *petit recits* regarding the interrogation of power, memory, and history—reveal the complexities surrounding affinity communities. These types of questions also relate to those addressed in the life stories of gamelan members (see Chapter 4).

Because of the gamelan grand narrative and the power dynamic between me and my interlocutors, I felt compelled to write each group's history to expand the already international history/ies of gamelan and to include communities in this discussion. My histories of Naga Mas and the UHJGE utilize *petit recits*, offering (where applicable) contradicting and multiple views of history from the people who experienced it. Understanding the history and development of both groups involves interrogating both the grand narrative and the *petit recits*. The histories told here are thus structured around "happenings"[11] (see Table 1) suggested by various events and by the members' recollections. Chapter 3 utilizes some consistent themes in these happenings to initiate analyses of each community's priorities.

In order to accommodate the members' remembrances, each history begins with the initial context that created a need/desire for gamelan rather than with the purchasing or arrival of the instruments. Additionally, each happening is in roughly chronological order but their organization also reflects the ways these stories were told to me. Written documentation—in the form of programs, newspaper clippings, memos, and letters—are used only in support of the oral stories here because, for all of their existence, Naga Mas' and the UHJGE's histories have been part of an oral tradition. These histories are also based around the groups themselves rather than individuals. This achieves four things: 1) it orders each group's history around events, people, and things that members of the groups deemed most important[12]; 2) it suggests other avenues of approach beyond the gamelan grand narrative; 3) it constructs a clear comparison between each group in terms of how issues of power, history, identity, inclusion, etc. are dealt with; and 4) the happenings, themes, and comparisons begin to show how and why various practices and norms are legitimated as and through each group's coherence systems. These coherence systems are fully examined in Chapter 4

Happenings for Naga Mas	**Happenings for the UHJGE**
1. Glasgow's Year of Culture (1985-1990)	1. Developing the Ethnomusicology Area at UHM (1949-1968)
2. Acquiring a Javanese Gamelan (1990-91)	2. Acquiring a Javanese Gamelan (1968-1970)
3. Initial Gamelan Situation (1991-96)	3. Initial Gamelan Performances and Classes at UHM (1971-1972)
4. Performances, Workshops, and an Approach to Gamelan (1994-2001)	4. The Rombongan Hawaii, the First Wave of Gamelan Members (1973)
5. Joko Susilo's Residency (2001-2002)	5. Gamelan Collaborations, Performances, and Establishing an Identity (1976-1989)
6. Collaboration and Creation (2002-2008)	6. The HGS and Second Wave of Members (1991-98)
7. Crisis Period (2009-2014)	7. Too Many Students, Not Enough Students (1990-2013)
8. Return to the Music (2013-present)	8. Facing the Future (2015-present)

Table 1 List of Happenings for Naga Mas and the UHJGE

History of Naga Mas and the Gamelan Spirit of Hope

Spirit of Hope, the name of the set of gamelan instruments used by Naga Mas, is one of four sets of gamelan instruments in all of Scotland.[13] This is in fairly stark contrast to the nearly seventy sets of gamelan instruments found in England. While many of the same personnel work as gamelan tutors around England, there are a sizeable number of them; anyone seeking information on gamelan would have multiple sources to turn to. In Scotland, if one wants to know anything about gamelan, they seek out (current and former) members of Naga Mas.

First Happening: Glasgow's Year of Culture

Although putatively purchased for Glasgow's 1990 Year of Culture, Spirit of Hope's presence in Glasgow can be traced back to pioneering work initiated as early as 1985 by Ian Ritchie, then managing director of the Scottish Chamber Orchestra (SCO). According to Ritchie, at that time no orchestra in Europe had full-time education departments or social programs. Ritchie was interested in cultivating such work with the Scottish Chamber Orchestra, and it was through this development work that the Strathclyde Regional Council (SRC) became involved with the SCO. While now defunct, the SRC was at one time the largest local authority in Europe and was responsible for educating almost half of Scotland's children.[14] Ritchie, the SCO, and the SRC worked together to create musical educational opportunities throughout the Strathclyde region that encouraged children in the schools to write music and attend concerts, empowered and supported teachers to deliver the newly instigated compositional aspect of the national music curriculum, enabled up-and-coming Scottish composers to create new works, and galvanized the SCO itself.

In 1986, Glasgow was designated the 1990 European City of Culture, and because of this, Ritchie notes that many projects were able to be carried out—like the purchase of a gamelan—that would have been impossible before or, indeed, since. The SRC and the City of Glasgow District Council took on certain responsibilities in terms of planning and funding a year-long event that would include many different musical, artistic, and cultural performances. In 1988, the SRC developed a policy that combined "culture and the Council's economic and social strategies."[15]

According to Beatriz Garcia, the purpose of the European City of Culture (ECOC) program was to "give a cultural dimension to the work of the European Community (now the

European Union) at a time when it did not have a defined remit for cultural action and to celebrate European culture as a means of drawing the community closer" (2005, 842). Glasgow was "the first city to win the title after an open national competition, the first to have more than three years to plan the event, . . . the first to gather substantial public and private support to fund event-specific initiatives and the first to understand the potential of the ECOC as a catalyst for urban regeneration through culture" (844). The SRC's policy and long-term goals were concerned with quality of life, support for and promotion of the arts, availability of the arts, wider use of the arts and culture as tools for education, the use of the arts and culture "as a medium of self-development amongst the disabled, the elderly and other special needs groups,"[16] and to encourage employment growth through arts and culture industries and the service sector.

While one of the purposes of the ECOC program was to support local culture, the SRC provided sufficient funds to host "major events of international significance."[17] As a result, there were performances by the New York City Ballet, the Bolshoi Opera, and Peter Brook's production company as well as multicultural events including the Islamic Exhibition, Steel Band, Pan African Arts, Saaba Dancers, the Chinese Dance Project, and Cambodian Dancers. It is clear from these reports and from their policy regarding long-term outcomes that the SRC wanted to promote Glasgow as a multicultural city whose many arts projects benefitted education, the economy, and the public. Thus, the collaborations between the SCO and the SRC, the availability of funding, and the international focus on culture and the arts as a result of the ECOC award, created a specific context and opportunity for a socially concerned educational and performing ensemble.

Second Happening: Acquiring a Javanese/Scottish Gamelan

Through Ritchie's work, the SRC became thoroughly engaged with the Scottish Chamber Orchestra. The SRC's Social Work Department (SWD) was interested not only in mainstream education but also in the area of special needs. Ritchie suggested to Chris Jay, the deputy head of the SWD, that a gamelan would be conducive for this area. Jay and his superiors were interested because of gamelan's presumed utility for special needs groups. Ritchie had participated in several gamelan workshops hosted by the Southbank Centre in London and became interested in gamelan:

> Because at this point, I completely understood that the gamelan, more than a classical orchestra—much more than that—a gamelan was the perfect mechanism for inclusion in music making. It is the most socially inclusive . . . collection of instruments you could find as an ensemble because if you have special needs and you have only a limited amount of movement or skill, you can still be slowly hitting a gong . . . The more dexterity, the more experience you have, the more you're dealing with the more virtuosic part of the orchestra. It seemed to me to be simultaneously inclusive of all different levels of ability and everybody had the full opportunity to be stretched. I felt it's a sort of marvelous democratic set up, the gamelan, and there was, therefore, great opportunity for people with learning difficulties, with special needs, to actually use a gamelan and feel part of something, an essential, crucial part of something: making music together. (p.c. Ian Ritchie 10/14/15)

Chris Jay also said, "[Gamelan is] specially [sic] suitable for the development of mental/physical coordination and group co-operation, and should be specially [sic] appealing to students in our adult training centres. We'll be arranging for staff to be trained in the use of our orchestras" (1990).

Thus, supported by the SCO's and SRC's policies and programs, Ritchie commissioned a full set of *pelog* and *slendro* gamelan instruments from Pak Eligius Suhirdjan, a gamelan maker in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Suyenaga,[18] noted, "We received an order for a complete gamelan for the Scottish Chamber Orchestra. They told us that the gamelan would be shared between Glasgow and Edinburgh" (p.c. Joan Suyenaga 6/3/15). Simon Cook,[19] a gamelan tutor from

England who specializes in Sundanese music, worked with Ritchie, Eona Craig,[20] and Pak Suhirdjan to obtain a set of gamelan instruments that the SRC and the SCO both wanted and could afford.[21] Both Ritchie and Craig noted their limited budget:

> I mean, the [gamelan] at the Southbank in London was a more expensive one, more imperial one because the, all the metal was beautifully cast from top-quality metal. The one that we had, beautiful, but as it ended up, much of the metal was recycled itself, not quite scrap metal but it was reconfigured from less expensive materials. (p.c. Ian Ritchie 10/14/15)

Craig put it more bluntly, if no less lovingly, by stating that, as they did not have the funds for a bronze or brass gamelan, Spirit of Hope is an iron gamelan made from "oil drums and bus parts." Regardless of the instruments' humble beginnings, the local council and the chamber orchestra had high hopes and expectations for their gamelan. Craig said she thought this explained the gamelan's name: "I think it was because it was to be a legacy, [a] gift to the communities and the schools of the region, and they were looking for something that was about cohesion . . . and that's why they settled on Spirit of Hope. It was something for the future, something that was spiritual and connected and using the arts to do that. I think that was the root of it" (p.c. Eona Craig 11/13/14). It is interesting to note that, while Spirit of Hope does not have a Javanese name, it does have a Gaelic name. In May 1991, Craig drafted a list of five potential names—in English—for the newly acquired gamelan. She then contacted Rhoda Mcleod, a Gaelic language specialist, and asked her for Gaelic translations of each name. "Spirit of Hope" was eventually chosen with the Gaelic translation, *Spioraid an dochais*.

In December 1990, the gamelan instruments were delivered to Motherwell College in Lanarkshire for unpacking. It was agreed that the special needs unit in Lanarkshire would take responsibility for one half of the gamelan while the other half would be used in Glasgow; "So the *slendro* and *pelog* were actually separated at birth" (p.c. Ian Ritchie 10/14/15).

Ritchie continued:

> I have to say, it's a day that I will never forget because it was just so moving. Alex Roth came up from London, Nigel Osbourne joined him, and we welcomed these instruments. And we were unpacking them, and it was just absolutely gorgeous. And we immediately started doing workshops with them and started the work. But essentially this became something which the Strathclyde Region Social Work Department took onboard as, you know, their responsibility and their property . . . And my orchestra, the Scottish Chamber Orchestra, were involved. Some of the players got involved in playing. Essentially, it was very symbolic of a different view of what an orchestra can mean, and an almost communist, certainly democratic, view of what an orchestra can be, that includes everybody as equals. And that was a good . . . it actually had a very good message for the musical world generally in Scotland, not just for the good use for the local people with disabilities. (ibid)

Figure 2 Unpacking Spirit of Hope at Motherwell College. Photographer unknown.

Third Happening: Initial Gamelan Situation

In addition to Ritchie's and Jay's goals, the *pelog* instruments were used for a large funded project with the Paragon Ensemble, "a music company that commissions, performs, experiments and teaches new music with the aim of inspiring audiences to take part in creating and performing their own music."[22] In 1993, composer and musician Prasadiyanto collaborated

with Paragon on a workshop for disabled participants. The gamelan instruments were used for various school and education projects, including work in primary and secondary schools, "come-and-try"[23] workshops, festivals featuring music from around the world, cultural exchanges, and all-night *wayang kulit* performances (p.c. Eona Craig 11/13/14). All this was in aid of fulfilling the SCO's and SWD's desire for musical accessibility.

While the instruments themselves received a name in 1991, the designation of the group of people who played the instruments went through several iterations. Participants in this group were members of the larger Glaswegian population who had participated in the above-mentioned workshops and wanted to continue playing gamelan. The 1993 Edinburgh Fringe Festival saw the group performing under the moniker The Gay Melons[24] and other programs and fliers from that year designate them the Glasgow Gamelan Group. Their November 1993 performance at the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum was the first iteration of Naga Mas (Golden Dragon), so called because of the decorations on the *gong agung*[25] stand. As Spirit of Hope was the name of the instruments, "we just thought we'd call ourselves, as a wee group, something separate. [Naga Mas is] the group that plays the Spirit of Hope gamelan" (p.c. Sophie Pragnell 11/11/14).

Craig also says that in the mid-1990s the instruments were "allowed to drift." While her exact meaning is not clear, this may refer to the fact that, while the Council owned the instruments, the gamelan set was used by various organizations for numerous projects without one, cohesive group of people. It might also refer to the fact that, in 1996, Regional Councils were abolished by the Local Government etc. (Scotland) Act. This resulted in a splitting of the Strathclyde Regional Council and two different councils taking the two halves of the gamelan instruments: the New South Lanarkshire Council got the *slendro* half of the gamelan, which was

kept in an adult day center in East Kilbride. The Glasgow City Council got the *pelog* half, which was initially kept at the Washington Street Arts Center.

Fourth Happening: Performances, Workshops, and an Approach to Gamelan

Throughout the 1990s, Naga Mas performed at various festivals (e.g., Glastonbury Festival, Edinburgh Fringe Festival, Haddington Festival, West End Festival, and Inspiration Festival), as well as at theatres, parks, museums, and arts centers in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Somerset. In 1994, Caroline Thompson, one of the members and organizers of Naga Mas, sent a letter to Dr. Saini Kasim at ASTI[26] trying to arrange a four-week intensive music workshop for Naga Mas members. While this group trip never came to fruition, long-time member Sophie Pragnell spent a year in Java through the Dharmasiswa program, focusing on drumming and *rebab*, a bowed spike fiddle. When she returned to Glasgow and Naga Mas, Pragnell—who was now the group's nominal leader—brought back Javanese techniques and repertoire. She notes that most of the music she did with the group was "traditional" with someone else—usually a gamelan tutor from England—"jetting in" to teach "bits and pieces" and to lead the group for a short period; "From the moment it started, it's always been about learning and sharing and everybody trying to understand it as best they can and piecing bits together . . . It's been like a patchwork, a puzzle that we've all been bringing little bits to" (p.c. Sophie Pragnell 11/11/14). During the 1990s, Naga Mas did not focus as strongly on improvisation and composition as they would later in their tenure. Pragnell stated that during this time, "the focus was just on trying to get what we knew *right*" (ibid; emphasis in original).[27]

Beginning in the early 1990s and in keeping with the original aims of the SRC, Naga Mas offered educational workshops as well as concerts. They also worked with musicians from

Luminous Music, a company started by musician/composer Jon Keliehor and percussionist Signy Jakobsdottir. In 1999, Naga Mas members hosted a workshop called "Introduction to the Indonesian Gamelan Orchestra" at the Strathclyde Arts Center. This workshop included six Glasgow primary schools. Also that year the gamelan group took part in the Inspiration Festival which featured workshops for children with a variety of learning disabilities.

In 2001, Naga Mas member Margaret Smith began a gamelan music project for the Glasgow City Council. This included weekly sessions with individuals and small groups; "The Sessions encourage communication, coordination and creativity. The gamelan is used as a medium through which small groups can record and perform their own music" (Naga Mas website). This project continued through 2006, and it was from this work that Smith and Katherine Waumsley developed a model for gamelan workshops. Smith noted that this model eventually became Gamelanability, a program for participants with additional support needs (ASN).[28]

This created a situation inspired by the SRC and SWD's initial desire for accessibility. Smith, Waumsley, and other members of Naga Mas would/will occasionally use the gamelan instruments for projects separate from Naga Mas itself. For Smith and Waumsley, this is in keeping with their occupation and philosophies as community musicians. Naga Mas itself is a teaching and performing group but as a community, they are not trained to lead workshops for disabled participants. The community's accessibility nevertheless extends to anyone interested in learning about Javanese gamelan music and in creating new music of their own.

Fifth Happening: Joko Susilo's Residency (2001-2002)

From 2001-02, musician, composer, and *dhalang* Joko Susilo[29] was a "Leverhulme Trust artist-in-residence at the University of Glasgow, puppeteer-in-residence at the Scottish Mask and Puppet Centre and instructor in the HND course in puppet theatre at Anniesland College" (program notes, Hexham Abby Festival program). Ethnomusicologist and *dhalang* Matthew Cohen was also resident in Glasgow at this time. Joko and Cohen collaborated with Naga Mas to produce various *wayang kulit* performances, including *Wayang Cuchulain*—which tells part of the story of Cuchulain, a famous Celtic warrior—and *Wayang Skotlandia*—which creates a meeting between Cuchulain and Bima, one of the five Pandåwå brothers from the *Mahabharata*. Naga Mas also performed several other *wayang*[30] with Joko and Cohen, including *Karetao Puppet Aotearoa*, which featured Maori icons.

Figure 3 Image of the burning castle from Wayang Cuchulain. The Cuchulain puppet (far right) was made by Joko Susilo and features curly hair and a kilt (photo credit: Andrew McDermid)

Figure 4 Naga Mas member Katherine Waumsley (photo credit: Andrew McDermid)

At this time, the group was learning more traditional repertoire for *wayang* accompaniment. Van der Walt and Smith attribute much of their traditional gamelan repertoire to Joko, and Cohen explained that much of what the group learned for *Wayang Cuchulain* and *Wayang Skotlandia* was "pretty standard for Solo (Surakarta) style *wayang*" although simplified in terms of having fewer elaborating instruments and less complicated transitions (p.c. Matthew Cohen 10/24/14). Additionally, members of the group began composing and devising new music for performance. For *Wayang Cuchulain*, for example, Joko also wanted a 12-bar blues piece, so van der Walt penned "Joko Jive."

Two other pieces by van der Walt that have remained in Naga Mas' repertoire are "Steadily-Stop!," composed in 2000, and "Adrift and Afloat," composed in 2002. Both of these pieces are labeled "for gamelan (or anything)" and as such are very versatile in terms of instrumentation and playability. These two pieces have been used both in concert performances and in educational workshops. Smith and Waumsley also encouraged the group to improvise and

create devised music—in which a melody is suggested by one member and the entire piece is then fleshed out by the group.[31]

Sixth Happening: Collaboration and Creation

In addition to their work with Joko, Naga Mas' concerts also brought together different genres of music from different places. At the 54th Hexham Abby Festival of Music and the Arts in 2006, Naga Mas performed a mixture of traditional Javanese gamelan music, *dangdut*[32] songs arranged for gamelan, a Balinese *topeng*,[33] a composition featuring Chinese *yangqin*,[34] and contemporary works written by members of their gamelan community. Their 2007 performance at the Scottish Storytelling Center also included traditional and newly composed works as well as narrative performances of the story of Calonarang (Balinese/Javanese) and the story of the Cailleach (Scottish). These two stories were accompanied by traditional Javanese and Balinese pieces as well as newly composed works.

Through collaboration started in 2008 and continued into 2009, Naga Mas staged several concerts with Barnaby Brown, a professional bagpiper. These concerts, once again, featured traditional and newly composed music as well as "Subakastawa," a piece from Central Java featuring Brown on smallpipes; "Bonnie Anne & Berwick Bully," two piping tunes arranged for gamelan and smallpipes; an arrangement of a popular Scottish tune, "Mairi's Wedding," for gamelan; and "Kecakaireachd," a piece featuring Balinese *kecak* (vocal gamelan) and Scottish *pibroch* (vocalization of Highland bagpipe music).

Figure 5 Performance of Scottish Bali and Iron Pipes with Barnaby Brown (standing right) (photo credit: Gordon MacKinnon)

Seventh Happening: Crisis Period

After 2008, major education and performance projects started to decline. There were several other performances with Brown in 2009 and 2010, and a workshop and performance for the West End Festival in 2011. Naga Mas also spent a great deal of time and energy preparing for their participation in *Wayang Lokananta, The Gamelan of the Gods*, an all-night *wayang kulit* performance held as part of the 2012 Gathering of the Gamelans Conference at the University of York.[35]

Figure 6 Performance at Wayang Lokananta with bagpiper Hazen Metro (standing left) (photo credit: Zeynita Gibbons)

Some Naga Mas members admitted to feeling "burned out" following the stress of that performance. This, as well as differing opinions regarding the direction of the group, may have contributed to internal tension which culminated in the entire organizational committee[36] stepping down the following year. Waumsley commented that this "would effectively have closed the group if others hadn't gotten involved/stepped in" (p.c. Katherine Waumsley 11/15/14). At that time, only around three to four people were consistently attending rehearsals. Waumsley suggested the group do a "consultation exercise" to see what people valued about the group, what the challenges were, and where people disagreed. This exercise revealed that several members felt burdened by or confused about management rules. Waumsley believed that this exercise was a positive and important event for Naga Mas, because it forced the community to collectively discuss and settle on a future direction for the ensemble. Waumsley explained that she, van der Walt, and Gordon MacKinnon were willing to step in to continue with a "really reduced version of Naga Mas." She says this cut "the ambition of the group down a lot." The goal was a return to the music, and their objective for the first year was "having a group of

people in a room playing gamelan and enjoying it" (ibid). In late 2014, another changeover of the organizing body occurred, with the convener and secretary roles being filled by relatively new members Jena Thomson and Neil Wells respectively.

Eighth Happening: Return to the Music

The goal of returning to the music has worked for the past few years, with Naga Mas performing a reduced number of concerts and workshops. They have also focused more on beginners' workshops in order to encourage more membership as there are still rehearsals attended by a bare minimum of members. They have planned and successfully staged a new show, *Gamelan Untethered*, which features all new music composed by members of the community group. Additionally, in 2013, van der Walt and Craig negotiated the move of the *slendro* half of the gamelan instruments from East Kilbride to the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland in Glasgow. The instruments there are now used as part of world music and composition classes headed by van der Walt. A new performing group is coalescing around these *slendro* instruments as well. This performing ensemble is still very new, so their role in and out of the Conservatoire remains to be seen. Through van der Walt and Craig's actions, we see an example of how the work of a community gamelan ensemble may influence that of an institution of higher learning rather than the other way around.

Figure 7 J. Simon van der Walt (seated at drum) leading a rhythm class at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland (photo credit: author)

Naga Mas successfully staged *Gamelan Untethered* twice more, once in December 2014 and again in September 2015. I had the privilege of playing with them on both occasions (see Chapter 5). The latter performance was part of the Discover Indonesia Festival, which featured visiting Javanese gamelan musicians, singers, and dancers as well as performers of contemporary genres.[37] Members of Naga Mas and I participated in a *klenengan*, or musical workshop, with the visiting Javanese musicians playing "Wilujeng," "Gendhing Bondhan Kinanthi," and van der Walt's piece, "Gamelunk." During my fieldwork, Naga Mas was working on a grant application to Creative Scotland, a public organization dedicated to supporting "the arts, screen and creative industries across all parts of Scotland on behalf of everyone who lives, works or visits here" through distribution of funding from the Scottish government and the National Lottery.[38] Most recently, Naga Mas has staged a new contemporary collaborative show, *The Woman Under the Sea*, performed van der Walt's new piece "Ball of Sardines" for the West End Festival, played "Ca' the Yowes" for a Robert Burns supper event, and worked with visiting artist Prasadiyanto on a concert of traditional music reuniting the *slendro* and *pelog* halves of the gamelan.

Tensions do remain in the group, and the future holds unknown challenges. From its initiation, members of Naga Mas have used the gamelan instruments in various ways for community workshops but also in ways that play to their various strengths and training. As the SRC policy gave a strong focus and agency to the people of Glasgow, individual members have interpreted that agency—as it applies to the gamelan instruments—to mean different things. Some view it as a truly community-based ensemble with a responsibility to provide access to as many participants as possible. Others see it as a way to complement and add to their own work as musicians in Glasgow. Some members expect to be paid for their time and contributions to the group; others do not. Different members have very divergent philosophies regarding appropriate approaches to gamelan pedagogy, inclusion, and community, as well as what constitutes a "professional" musician. These issues and contradictions will be further explored as aspects of community in Chapter 3 and as components of life stories in Chapter 4.

History of the University of Hawai'i Javanese Gamelan Ensemble and Kyai Gandrung

Kyai Gandrung (Venerable One in Love) is the only set of Javanese gamelan instruments currently in Hawai'i.[39] Pak Hardja Susilo, long-time leader of the UH Javanese Gamelan Ensemble, was an authority on gamelan music and dance, in part because of his continued dedication to teaching, learning, and arranging new pieces and because of his position as one of the first Javanese musicians to teach in the United States.[40] While many of Susilo's students went on to specialize in Javanese music and/or dance and to found/lead gamelan groups at their own institutions, he remained the authoritative voice for Javanese gamelan in Hawai'i.

First Happening: Developing the Ethnomusicology Area at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

Just as the history of Spirit of Hope and Naga Mas is closely tied to the aims of local institutions, the history of *Kyai Gandrung* and the UH Javanese Gamelan Ensemble is closely tied to the development of the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa (UHM) music department's ethnomusicology area. The UHM music department itself was established in the 1947. Professor Barbara Smith was hired in 1949, initially to teach theory and piano. Within a few years, Smith noted her students' dissatisfaction with the department's strict focus on Western classical music:

> You know, of course, that I started the ethno[musicology] program. And I did that because I had found that some of the local students—the Hawaiian, Chinese, Japanese, Korea, Okinawan, Filipino—those were the main, non-American groups here at the time . . . I found that some of them were feeling embarrassed and questioning their identity because at the university they were learning only Western things. And it was a very dramatic experience for me when I learned this (p.c. Barbara Smith 4/16/15).

Smith took it upon herself to develop and teach courses on non-Western music, the first of which was an upper-division undergraduate lecture course in 1957. Following the addition of several other courses, including one on Pacific and Asian music for elementary school teachers developed jointly with Dorothy Gillett,[41] Smith established the master's degree program in ethnomusicology at UHM. In 1968, Ricardo Trimillos, who had earned a master's degree from UHM, returned as faculty and began assisting Smith with the ethnomusicology area.

Second Happening: Acquiring a Javanese Gamelan

Smith recalled that in 1968, Trimillos informed her that the UHM ethnomusicology program needed a gamelan:

> So Ric said, 'Well ok, we've got the chorus, band, and orchestra. What we need is some large ensemble because the others at that time were rather small . . . and he had studied gamelan at UCLA, and he said that that large ensemble should be gamelan. And the

> reasons were that, besides being outside of our local population, was that people could play gamelan at different levels of experience. And this is actually in contrast to orchestra where you don't play in the orchestra until you develop some technique on your own instrument . . . So now, in effect . . . we have a gamelan because we had a something of a growing ethno program, and because [of] Ric—he was the key person, definitely, in terms of getting the gamelan and getting [Susilo] for teaching. (p.c. Barbara Smith 4/16/15).

As Trimillos remembers it, this was a "mutual conversation:"

> [Barbara's] always, you know, not wanting to take credit for things, but it was a mutual conversation. We were talking about 'what do we need for the program?' And one of the things was that we wanted to have something that would attract students and so the subject of gamelan came up. And I really don't remember if I brought it up or she brought it up, but anyway it was mutually discussed. (p.c. Ricardo Trimillos 11/16/15)

Shortly after this discussion, Smith and Gillett participated in the Music Educators National Conference[42] Western Division that was being held in the Los Angeles area. In addition to making a presentation while there, Smith met with Hardja Susilo, a Javanese gamelan musician and dancer who was attending UCLA and working with Mantle Hood, to gauge his interest in relocating to Hawai'i to lead gamelan classes.

In the late 1960s, Mantle Hood moved with his wife Hazel and their children to Honolulu. While there, Hood arranged for a program of Javanese gamelan music and dance to be performed at the university's Kennedy Theatre (1967) using his own gamelan instruments. According to Trimillos, Hood received a Ford Foundation Grant that provided funding for six-month residencies for three Indonesian musicians and dancers—Soedarsono, I Made Bandem, and Djunaedi—in 1968. Connections with Soedarsono and Bandem proved very fruitful, as the former was a valuable contact and ally in securing *Kyai Gandrung* for the university the following year, and the latter was instrumental in convincing the Governor of Bali to gift *Segara Madu*, a Balinese *gong kebyar* set, to UHM's music department two decades later.

In 1969, Trimillos was traveling in Southeast Asia, and through Soedarsono, located a *batik*[43] and antique merchant named Pak Suprapto or Prapto Hitam (p.c. Joan Suyenaga 6/3/15). Suprapto had two sets of gamelan instruments, and Trimillos chose *Kyai Gandrung*, feeling it was the superior set. According to Suyenaga:

> I was told by a drum maker in Yogya that *Kyai Gandrung* was originally only a *slendro* gamelan and belonged to the prince who would become Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX. It used to accompany his dance rehearsals. It must have been sold to someone outside of the *kraton*. Indeed, the *slendro* set is older and far more beautiful in tone than the *pelog* set, which was put together to complete the gamelan when it was purchased. (ibid)

It was through Smith's generous monetary donation[44] that *Kyai Gandrung* was purchased for the UHM music department and ethnomusicology area. *Kyai Gandrung* was one of the first Yogyanese gamelans to leave the country. Some of the instruments, including the *gong agung*, are over 100 years old.[45] According to Trimillos, it was "quite a coup to have this thing and then when we played it and sounded the big gong, it . . . caught everybody's imagination . . ." (p.c. Ricardo Trimillos 2/11/13). Interestingly enough, while the purchase of gamelans by foreigners was relatively new, there was an agency, P.T. Sunaryo, for shipping gamelans out of the country. Trimillos commented that this agency packed the gamelan properly with offerings of flowers and leaves in the gongs and a small Sri Dewi[46] figurine: "It was not just a commercial packing but there was a certain sense of what was appropriate or *cocok*" (ibid).

In 1970, *Kyai Gandrung* arrived in Hawai‘i by ship. Its appearance was documented in *The Green Sheet*, the UHM faculty newsletter. Susilo noted, "it was an emotional experience to see this huge gong and gamelan in Hawaii [sic]" (1971, 1). The instruments were stored in temporary buildings behind the current gamelan room, and rehearsals and performances took place in room 36, the music department's current choral rehearsal hall (see Fig. 8). A dedicated gamelan room was completed in 1975 specifically to house *Kyai Gandrung*.[47] Also in 1970,

Susilo moved with his wife, Judy Mitoma, to Honolulu to teach Javanese gamelan music and dance at UHM.

Figure 8 Kyai Gandrung in rm. 36. Hardja Susilo front right, Ricardo Trimillos behind right. Photographer unknown

Third Happening: Initial Gamelan Performances and Class(es) at UHM

The first Javanese gamelan performance was given in the spring of 1971. There were twenty-six musicians made up of both university students and faculty, including composer and UHM faculty member Neil McKay, with whom Susilo would compose a concerto for gamelan and orchestra. In April 1972, students performed excerpts from the *Ramayana* in preparation for a full production planned for the following year. Both Susilo and Mitoma taught the dances for each role.

Figure 9 Arjuna Wiwaha staged in 1976. Picture featured in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin. Harja Susilo (seated at bonang), Pattie Najita, James Giles, and Byron Moon (from left to right) (photo credit: Ron Edmonds)

At this point, stories differ regarding the number of gamelan classes offered by the music department. UHM Music Department Facilities Coordinator and current leader of the UH Javanese Gamelan class and Ensemble, Byron Moon, explained that the department offered two options: a beginner-level class for new students and an ensemble-credit class which was the UHJGE. The ensemble-credit class was "'credit-wise' the equivalent of the wind ensemble, the symphony, [or] the choirs. It was considered one of the major performing ensembles of the department. [In] the major ensembles, the requirement is: you have to do a public performance like the symphony and the band and the choir do" (p.c. Byron Moon 4/28/15). As a result, Susilo

staged many dance dramas and *wayang kulit* performances. This made the class very popular, and as such, new students coming up from the beginner's class were not always able to join because of limited instruments. Seeing this, someone suggested a separate meeting time such that more people could participate. This instigated the first "Saturday" group—a name that has stuck with members of the UHJGE. Students, who were not able to join the class because of the finite number of instruments, met on Saturdays to continue their studies with Susilo. "And that kind of got it started, but it was pretty hard to differentiate between the University of Hawai‘i credit-class ensemble and this other group that started because it all ended up in the same performance" (p.c. Byron Moon 4/28/15).

This explanation, like Naga Mas' thistle story, has several versions. When queried, Smith and Trimillos opined that there was actually only one gamelan class. Smith said, "My impressions of Susilo's relationship with the students enrolled in what was probably listed as 'Gamelan Ensemble' in his earliest days on our faculty, is that he was very generous with the time he spent with students enrolled in the gamelan ensemble – meeting outside of the regularly scheduled class period with these students individually and/or in small groups to help them develop/improve their technique/skill" (p.c. Barbara Smith 1/1/9/17).[48] In the April, 1971 concert program, the final paragraph of a page-long description and explanation of gamelan includes the following: "Hardja Susilo, Assistant Professor in Ethnomusicology, directs the gamelan and teaches Javanese dance. These classes are parts of the Music Department offerings designed to give students insight and experience in artistic expression of other cultures" (program notes). The "classes" here seem to refer more to a gamelan class and a dance class, rather than two separate gamelan classes. And unlike in later programs, participants are not identified as members of a specific class or ensemble.

Whether as a consequence of a too-full class or not, Susilo did encourage the communal activities relevant to Javanese gamelan (e.g., cooking together for *selamatan* before performances, sewing costumes, painting instruments, traveling, and other social activities as well as learning and playing music and dance) that developed into something more than a university class.

Figure 10 Selamatan in the gamelan room late 1970s/early 1980s (photo credit: unknown)

Figure 11 Selamatan in front of the gamelan room 2011 (photo credit: author)

Fourth Happening: The *Rombongan* Hawai‘i, the First Wave of Gamelan Members

In the summer of 1973, participants in the UHM Javanese gamelan class travelled to Java. Susilo arranged for a ten-week stay in Indonesia: six weeks in Yogyakarta and Surakarta taking music and dance lessons, two weeks in Bali, and a final two weeks back in Yogya and Solo. There were twenty-eight university students and three chaperones, including Susilo, Trimillos, and Jeannette “Benji” Bennington, head of the arts program for East-West Center—an independent, federally funded organization with offices on UHM’s campus. The students raised money to help fund the trip and became known as the *rombongan Hawai‘i* (Hawai‘i group or cohort). The *rombongan Hawai‘i* was “the first [large] study group that came to do music [in Indonesia]” (p.c. Ricardo Trimillos 2/11/13) and essentially paved the way for future gamelan groups. Their Uyon-Uyon Mahalo Nui[49] concert given at the sultan’s *pandapa*[50] was “the first public performance of gamelan by foreigners in Indonesia.”[51] Subsequent trips were planned and

executed throughout the 1970s, but the first one was the largest and remembered with the most fondness by those who went and was designated as the catalyst for the close bond between early members by those who did not. Members of the *rombongan* Hawai‘i form the core of what I am designating "first-wave" members of the UHJGE.

Fifth Happening: Gamelan Collaborations, Performances, and Establishing an Identity

The mid-1970s saw the first and only collaboration between the gamelan ensemble and a Western orchestra. Susilo worked with composer Neil McKay to write *Parables of Kyai Gandrung*, a concerto for Western orchestra and Javanese gamelan in four movements. The piece was commissioned by the Honolulu Symphony Society to celebrate the United States' bicentennial. According to Smith, the piece was actually performed twice during the Symphony's regular season of monthly concerts. "I do remember Susilo's telling me that . . . Hood had congratulated him and Dr. McKay by saying, 'Gentlemen, you have made history!'"[52] (p.c. Barbara Smith 8/9/15).

Much of the UHJGE's repertoire stems from *wayang kulit* and dance dramas.[53] Even when performing *uyon-uyon* concerts at the music department, dance was often included. Over the years they have staged many concerts at the UHM music department and Kennedy Theater, as well as several off-campus performances. They have worked with guest artists Ki Widiyanto, Ki Rusman S. Hadikusumo, Joko Suyono, Pak Supardi, Djoko Walujo, Al. Suwardi, Joko Sutrisno, and Sutrisno Setya Hartana to learn different techniques and how to respond to different leaders. Susilo's strongest goal was to teach his students how to listen and respond like Javanese musicians (Solís 2004; p.c.), and he recognized the value of listening to more than one Javanese teacher.

A review of the UHJGE's concert programs throughout the 1980s suggests that the performing ensemble was attempting to establish a cohesive identity. In the program for their 1980 summer concert, for example, the gamelan participants are identified as the "University of Hawaii Gamelan Club." This is the first time they are identified as members of a club rather than a class. The notes describing "Playon mataraman seling Rambangan Megatruh – Rambangan Pucung" performed in November of that same year identify performers in "the intermediate gamelan class joined by members of the performing ensemble" (program notes). This does lend credence to the idea that there was more than one gamelan class offered by the music department, but it also serves to differentiate the class from the performing ensemble, or the more seasoned musicians.

Beginning in May, 1982, the concert programs expanded the acknowledged membership of the UHJGE: "The University of Hawaii Gamelan Ensemble is composed of students, alumni and staff members of the University and East-West Center, as well as people from the community who have had at least two semesters of gamelan experience" (program notes). The summer 1986 program noted that "The University of Hawaii Gamelan Club is a *University-community organisation* [sic] associated with the ethnomusicology/dance ethnology section of the University of Hawaii Music Department" (program notes; my emphasis). While this designation is not fully explained, the inclusion of "community" here implies connections outside and identity separate from the university.

Sixth Happening: The Hawaii Gamelan Society[54] and the Second Wave of Gamelan Members

In June, 1991, the Javanese gamelan celebrated its 20th anniversary in Hawai‘i. Bennington credits the ensemble with being the “longest continuously active gamelan group in America” (program notes, June 1991). She also reveals that the ensemble was in the process of establishing a non-profit group called Friends of the Gamelan. According to members William (Bill) Remus and Barbara Polk, however, it was not until 1998 that the group formally applied for non-profit status. For the April Asia Pacific Fest ’98, the program notes include a description of the Hawaii Gamelan Society (HGS), a “newly formed non-profit organization of university- and community-based individuals who perform at the University of Hawai‘i in both the Javanese and Balinese gamelan traditions of Indonesia” (program notes). The establishment of HGS gave the Javanese gamelan members more financial freedom and control as well as more flexibility to act outside the constraints of the University.

The 1990s also saw the influx of a second wave of long-term gamelan members. The Festival of Indonesian Culture and a non-credit gamelan summer class taught by Susilo brought in many new members who have stayed in the ensemble. These members also participated in several trips to Java organized by Susilo, but they acknowledge that these trips were much different than those of the 1970s. Participants in these trips were older than the undergraduate gamelan players in the 1970s and were in some cases already used to traveling internationally. During these trips, gamelan members were often left to their own devices, seeking out teachers and performances on their own. Susilo was always willing to be called upon for introductions or advice, but he did not arrange the same kind of intensive study for these new students as he had for those in 1973. This again may have been due to the age of his new students: no longer incoming university freshmen, the participants in Susilo’s non-credit summer class were already established professors or professionals.

Seventh Happening: Too Many Students, Not Enough Students

In reference to himself and fellow members of the UHJGE, Bill Remus once quipped, "we're just ancient students, that's all" (p.c. Bill Remus 4/15/15). Even though Pattie Dunn has led workshops on gamelan music and dance and Byron Moon has taught the UHM gamelan class for many years, most everyone in the gamelan group refers to themselves as students of Susilo. While this has led to some tension between members who identify themselves as part of varying in-coming groups (e.g., the first wave *rombongan* Hawai'i who joined in the 1970s, the second wave students who joined in the early 1990s, and the annual contingent of university undergraduate and graduate students), the tensions are more nuanced than merely being a result of differences in ages.

As mentioned previously, Moon's explanation for the instigation of the Saturday group was to accommodate the plethora of university students who wanted to join the ensemble-credit class. After a time, this first flush of students resulted in a great many "oldsters" (p.c. Ricardo Trimillos 11/16/15) who were very familiar with a large body of repertoire because of their many years in the group. Trimillos noted that when he left the ethnomusicology area for Asian Studies, the Saturday group and the class had become polarized. He felt that the Saturday group members monopolized the instruments to the detriment of the class members. This resulted in a kind of stagnation: "The younger groups coming through didn't have a chance to do the 'sexy pieces' because all the oldsters were there who already knew [them] and occupied the spaces" (ibid).

This situation did not strictly exist during my years with the class and community group (2010-2013). By that time, the music department no longer offered the ensemble-credit course as an option for university students;[55] therefore, there was no competition for instruments in the

actual Javanese gamelan class. At the same time, Moon focused almost exclusively on the "back row" instruments[56] and did not teach the more complicated "front row."[57] In the UHJGE, there are members who specialize on specific, front row instruments, but younger students are encouraged to take on challenging instrument parts. Bill Remus and Gary Dunn continually urged me to learn and to play *bonang barung* and *peking*. For current members Amit Chaturvedi, Aaron Singer, and Karen Honda, this encouragement continues, with Chaturvedi often playing *gender* or *gambang*, Singer drumming, and Honda playing *bonang*. Member Daniel Tschudi adds a slightly different perspective, noting that for many years he was the sole *gender* player because, during his time with the group, no one was interested in learning the front row instruments (p.c. Daniel Tschudi 4/24/15). Indeed, Chaturvedi's interest in *gender* has freed Tschudi to explore other instruments.

Many members also explained the tension between Susilo's long-term students and university students as a result of the realities of undergraduate and graduate life: students pursuing degrees at UHM rarely stay in Hawai‘i following graduation. Thus there is much greater turn over when it comes to the university students. Tschudi and Susilo discussed this pull between two different imperatives when teaching "students in an American gamelan" (p.c. Daniel Tschudi 4/24/15). On the one hand, there is the desire to teach the students as broadly as possible, to look to their overall musical development, and their understanding of Javanese music, instruments, and culture. On the other hand, there are the realities of the end-of-semester concert and the students' inevitable graduation. Moon expressed similar frustrations in wanting to teach me as much about the *bonang* as possible but also in knowing that I was planning on leaving which would necessitate starting again with another student.

Eighth Happening: Facing the Future

With Susilo's death on January 25th, 2015, the future of the UH Javanese Gamelan Ensemble seems at once tenuous and vibrant. All the members I spoke to acknowledged difficulties in moving forward without a Javanese leader. One member noted that even if the university were to hire someone from Java to teach the gamelan class and lead the community ensemble, a younger, conservatoire-trained musician might have very different ideas regarding appropriate repertoire and creative output. It is not clear whether serious change is something the gamelan group would want or appreciate. Moon did express excitement at the opportunity to work collaboratively with music education majors in the department. He hopes to do more to bring gamelan to local schools, such that in-coming freshman at the university will have already had experience hearing and playing gamelan music. Coming from another perspective, Pattie Dunn feels it is the gamelan community's responsibility to preserve the music and life lessons that Susilo taught them. On November 18, 2017 the UHJGE staged an "Aloha Pak Sus" concert to celebrate "the 1000th day of the passing of our teacher and mentor Pak Hardja Susilo" (p.c. Michiko Ueno-Herr 12/30/16). Moon explained to his gamelan students that the goal was to commemorate Susilo's spirit passing on to "whatever's next."

There are many voices which tell the history of the UH Javanese Gamelan Ensemble, but perhaps as a result of having Susilo as (relatively) undisputed leader for forty-five years, their voices—at least as pertains to the history of the group—are more in agreement than those of Naga Mas. This seems to be the nature of their community, but it remains to be seen whether this will continue into the future.

Conclusions

The histories of Naga Mas and the UHJGE add depth and dimension to the gamelan grand narrative by introducing alternative avenues of gamelan development besides those initiated by universities and ethnomusicologists. They also demonstrate how and why the relationship(s) between community and university are complicated and nuanced. These histories suggest that community—how and why it is developed and maintained as well as how individuals interpret it—is as important to the spread of gamelan as the more well-known individuals who have previously been credited with introducing gamelan to the world. And finally, these histories indicate that gamelan is no longer solely in the hands of ethnomusicologists and professional musicians. When Neil Sorrell half-jokingly quipped that gamelan had been "usurped by ethnomusicologists," he was referencing the gamelan grand narrative that excluded these alternative potentialities. If, as Peter Steele suggests, gamelan has truly "gone global," then the narrative must widen to include the experiences and contributions of non-academic, non-specialist community gamelan ensembles outside of Indonesia.[58] It must likewise acknowledge the often less-straightforward ties between universities and community gamelan ensembles.

One goal of this chapter was to use individual voices to understand community creation. While the experiences of the groups, as related through their histories, is perhaps more complex and contradictory than that of a single individual, it is possible to include them within a history that focuses on small narrative and embraces historical contradictions and muddiness. Each story and explanation contribute to a collective perception of each gamelan community. This, along with the organization of each history into happenings suggested by the gamelan members, attempts to level the playing field as much as possible to allow the members more control over their own stories. This is important because scholarship has assumed many things about affinity

communities without always consulting the members. The following chapter begins to address this through a reevaluation of "community" and "affinity" as well as an examination of how each group's priorities contribute to their communal identity.

CHAPTER 3 Not "Warm and Fuzzy" but still Family: Creating Community and Exploring Affinity

Introduction

This chapter addresses my second research goal (to understand the idealizations and realizations of community) as well as my second premise (community, as a concept, is capable of encompassing both positive and negative attributes). It also provides a starting point for the exploration of my third research goal (to consider the potential of affinity as a descriptor) and my third premise (Mark Slobin's definition of "affinity intercultures"[1] is valid but limited). The latter two are introduced near the end of the chapter and discussed in more depth in Chapter 7. I concentrate on the first two by considering how Naga Mas and UHJGE participants use and interpret community as a construct, a state of mind, and/or anticipated feelings.

To begin, I briefly describe several exchanges I had with members of the UHJGE and Naga Mas on their perceptions of community. Community music theorist K.K. Veblen's five issues of Community Music,[2] together with various themes suggested in Chapter 2's histories, then help identify each group's priorities as a community. Consideration of Naga Mas' and the UHJGE's symbolic boundaries (Cohen 1985) demonstrate how community can encompass contradictory interpretations. A related section on *communitas* follows, wherein I offer an alternative example of how *communitas* may be achieved. The next section includes different themes inherent in community expressed by Naga Mas and UHJGE members to further support the notion that community is capable of encompassing negative aspects as well. The final section offers a more nuanced definition of affinity community, one that is more in keeping with the

realities of Naga Mas and the UHJGE. In this way, I work to let the experiences and ideas of the community gamelan members drive the theory instead of the reverse.

On a warm Saturday afternoon, I was sitting with Amit Chaturvedi, a PhD student in religion at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa and fellow member of the UHJGE who joined in 2007. We were wrapping up a fairly intense interview on his experiences of gamelan—both in and out of Hawai‘i—and the nature of community. I noticed other members of the group making their way to the gamelan room for rehearsal when Amit commented that the UHJGE, as a community, does not exude a “warm and fuzzy feeling” (p.c. Amit Chaturvedi 4/13/15). Later, Daniel Tschudi, another member of the UHJGE, commented that members of the group “don’t socialize outside of gamelan activities, and I don’t think there’s even this sense that we need to see each other every day” (p.c. Daniel Tschudi 4/24/15).

Five months later, I was sipping tea in a chilly Glaswegian loft-space discussing similar topics with Naga Mas member Neil Wells. He had just finished explaining several deeply personal, nearly transcendent, musical experiences he had playing with bands in Germany. I asked if he had ever had any similar experiences during his time with Naga Mas. While admitting the possibility, Wells noted that “I tend to feel that you can only really achieve that kind of really profoundly affecting intensity of group playing with quite a large amount of time playing together” (p.c. Neil Wells 9/22/15), and that community groups, like Naga Mas, just do not have the time to facilitate that kind of experience.

Taken together, these comments struck me as significant. For decades “community,” a cozy term often set in juxtaposition to anonymous urban sprawl, has evoked feelings of closeness, belonging, and home. Various scholars have argued against the utility of this term for its assumed unquestionable positivity. It has also been criticized for implying rigidity and stasis

(Finnegan 2007) as well as nostalgia and a focus on "the relations between people exclusively (and not on the relations of people to places, things and processes)" (Straw 2002; Junior 2012, 8). "Affinity" is likewise linked to such ineffable things as choice, desire, and imagination and tends to be used as an ambiguous, somewhat superficial, designation for groups which do not fit easily into other, more well-defined subcategories. Affinity communities, then, present a double-whammy of complexity and equivocality that scholars must parse. My friends' comments reveal personal attitudes toward and perceptions of community, affinity, and gamelan. These contradict both community's assumed positivity and the stereotype of gamelan as a "utopian musical community" in which Victor Turner's spontaneous *communitas*—or "a direct, immediate and total confrontation of human identities"—is easily achieved (Mendonça 2002). Additionally, other members of these community gamelans agreed, qualified, and outright contradicted Chaturvedi, Tschudi, and Wells. This suggests that while members may agree that gamelan has a unique blend of musical performance and sociability (ibid), each individual interprets their community differently.

My interest in community and affinity stems from the realization that while the two Javanese gamelan groups I work with *could* be designated as affinity communities (see Mark Slobin's definition), Slobin's (and others') definitions of affinity are not entirely sufficient for what I experienced or for what was told and shown to me by members of each group. As expected, everyone in both groups expressed a love of gamelan, but in speaking with the members, many other reasons for involvement came to the fore; reasons just as powerful as their love of gamelan. Some of them arguably belonged in other subcategories of community (see Shelemay's descent and dissent, pg. 17-18). Thus, in order to better understand non-diasporic groups who participate in and perpetuate non-Western musical communities, beyond the

assumed desire for difference (which is part of the mix), I propose a more systematic and more detailed approach, one that begins by understanding the varied priorities of affinity community gamelans.

Priorities of Community Gamelans

Definitions of "community" have changed in anthropological and ethnomusicological scholarship, morphing from physical to imagined, from stable to mobile, from local to global to glocal, and from bounded to cyber (Anderson [1983] 2006; Cohen 1985; Vered and Rapport 2002; Robertson 1995; Shelemay 2011). At this point, it may seem as though Kay Kaufman Shelemay's extremely generalized definition—community as a "body of people or things viewed collectively" (2011, 6)—is all we might hope for from this term. It is perhaps no wonder then that scholars strive to replace it with something more specific (Finnegan [1989] 2007; Straw 1991; Turino 2008). I agree with Shelemay's assessment, however, that to reject "community" outright would be detrimental; not only because, as she says, it would cut ethnomusicologists off from cross-disciplinary perspectives, but also because doing so would deny the legitimacy of a word—and its multiple meanings—used by our interlocutors.

As noted in Chapter 1, I chose Naga Mas and the UHJGE as case studies, in part, because of their overtly dissimilar characteristics. I do not wish to over-generalize gamelan outside of Indonesia, nor do I want to establish a "US vs. UK" approach to gamelan in this dissertation. Rather, I am interested in the wide variety of possibilities afforded to "community" as suggested by these two ensembles. To understand how these two groups approach, interpret, and embody community, it is first necessary to identify their priorities when it comes to Javanese gamelan music and performance. For this, I found Community Music scholar K.K. Veblen's article "The

Many Ways of Community Music" (2007) useful. In it, she presents five "issues" of Community Music: 1) kinds of music and music making; 2) intentions; 3) participants; 4) teaching, learning, and interactions; and 5) interplays between informal and formal contexts.[3] The first four highlight very succinctly differing inclinations and concerns regarding music making. As I am also concerned with how these components contribute to the identities of musical communities themselves—something Veblen does not address—I include certain themes suggested by the historical happenings explored in Chapter 2, namely hybridity, inclusion/accessibility, and musical direction. Combining Veblen's issues with these themes helps pinpoint and clarify each community's priorities, adds further issues for consideration, and shows how common themes suggested by historical happenings are realized differently.

This is not to say that one group's approach is more appropriate than another, but rather to acknowledge that approaches to community come from different places and are motivated by different coherence principles (see Chapter 4 and *Communitas* section in this chapter). This is also to foreground the gamelan members' experiences and performances as deeply relevant to the definition of community. These initial comparisons identify connections and divergences between the two ensembles as well as contribute to groundwork for the multidimensional framework explored in Chapter 7.

Kinds of Music and Music Making

Active music making "include[es] performing, creating, and improvising" all "genres and diversities" of music (Veblen 2007, 2). As evidenced in the previous chapter (and will be examined more thoroughly in Chapter 5), Naga Mas performs a mixture of traditional and hybridized musics created by members of the community and with outside collaborators. They

value Western and Javanese improvisation,[4] individual and group composition as well as traditional Javanese performance practice. Naga Mas performs a variable number of times per year and participates in several annual festivals (e.g., the West End Festival).

The UHJGE performs traditional, Central Javanese gamelan repertoire, mainly from Yogyakarta and Surakarta with brief forays into Banyumasan music. Members often credit Susilo with arranging pieces for performance. Currently, the group does not play any compositions by members, and improvisation takes place within traditional Javanese gamelan performance practice. The UHJGE performs twice per year at the end of each academic Spring and Fall semester.

From this, we begin to extrapolate the priorities that shape each community. Naga Mas' musical eclecticism has resulted in a community that appreciates learning traditional Javanese gamelan pieces. On their own initiative, members have traveled to Java and Bali, collected recordings and Javanese print sources, and attended workshops in the UK and abroad. They also value new musical creation that reflects both the cultural heritage and the cosmopolitan realities of the majority of members. This has resulted in a great deal of hybrid or fusion works that incorporate jazz and funk (e.g., "Gamelunk" see Chapter 5), bagpipes (see House 2014), Scottish folk songs (see Chapter 5) as well as pieces more in line with *komposisi*, or more radical or avant-garde compositions which largely avoid traditional forms and practices (Sorrell 2007).

The UHJGE's music making has resulted in a community dedicated to upholding traditional repertoire. As evidenced in the community's disinclination to compose new music for their group as well as their reaction to a graduate student's new *wayang kulit* (see pgs. 92-93), the UHJGE strongly prioritizes learning, playing, and representing Central Javanese gamelan[5] as well as being creative in ways that conform to Javanese performance practice (see Chapter 6).

Intentions

Community Music emphasizes lifelong learning and access as well as the social and personal well-being of participants. The focus is on educating both oneself and all members of the community at large. It is worth noting that this particular issue is in line with one of Sulaiman Gitosaprodjo's four principles of *karawitan*[6] (in Becker 1984). Gitosaprodjo notes that the ideals of *karawitan* include educating oneself to become a "skillful and wise (*berbudi luhur*)" artist, to teach all students of any age and skill level, and to educate the larger community (384).

Both Naga Mas' and the UHJGE's intentions regarding education revolve around different aspects of inclusion and accessibility. These are, in turn, related to intentions that contextualize and justify their origins. For example, one of Ian Ritchie and Chris Jay's fundamental goals was the creation of gamelan programs designed to include the widest possible amount and kinds of participants. As a community group, Naga Mas has absorbed these principles. They make access to the instruments and to the knowledge held collectively by their community as open and available as possible. And indeed, some tension arose in the group when this kind of open inclusion was questioned.

It may seem that, in comparison, the UHJGE is more exclusive, but this is also tied to priorities and contradictions evidenced in the gamelan's initial *raison d'être*. The core of Barbara Smith's teaching philosophy was/is a desire for community involvement through the inclusion of local music makers and familiarization of the Other. The choice of Javanese gamelan as flagship for the ethnomusicology area supports this inclusive pedagogy in subtle ways. For example, while Smith's inspiration to include classes on Asian and Pacific music came from her local students' frustration with the Western-focused curriculum, she and Trimillos recognized a simultaneous yet contradictory situation: "people . . . were embarrassed about their own inherited

musical tradition, were hesitant to get involved with that, but if it were some *other* tradition, they would be more at ease in getting involved with it" (p.c. Barbara Smith 4/16/15; emphasis in original). Thus, by establishing the gamelan as a large performing ensemble on par with the Western bands and orchestra and by hiring Susilo as Javanese culture bearer, Smith and Trimillos created an opportunity to include the widest possible spectrum of students. While Trimillos' concern has been that "the primary mission of the gamelan is not the club . . . it's the curriculum" (p.c. Ricardo Trimillos 2/11/13), inclusion of university students is a large part of the UHJGE's focus as well. Thus both Naga Mas and the UHJGE evidence a desire for inclusivity that is manifested communally in different ways.

Participants

For Veblen, "participants" includes both all members and roles of the community group with the understanding that members will fill many roles. As evidenced above, participation in Naga Mas is open to anyone. The group offers annual (and sometimes bi-annual) beginner's workshops to encourage membership growth. At the current time, participants in Naga Mas are a mixture of amateur, community, and professional musicians and composers. Leaders in Naga Mas also participate as students, depending on the situation. Historically, some members have opted to try limiting participation of newcomers in order to strengthen the group's performing profile. This approach was not accepted by the majority.

Participation in the UHJGE is generally limited to students who have completed a semester of the Javanese gamelan class offered through the UHM music department. In 1990, Susilo taught a non-credit, summer class that also provided some new membership. At the current time, participants in the UHJGE are university students, faculty, and staff (some retired).

Historically, the group was also open to interested community participants who had some prior experience with gamelan (UHJGE program notes October 2006). It is generally only the long-time members who may participate as both students and teachers within the group.

In conversation, Bill Remus, a member of the second wave of UHJGE members,[7] opined that *type of participant* is a major contributing factor to a gamelan group's community-ness. Because of this, he seemed unsure how to classify the UHJGE whose participants were no longer university students but also did not come into gamelan from the community at large. Ellen Lueck (2012) identifies a similar distinction between academic and community groups as related to participants.[8] I suggest, however, it is more than just where a participant comes from that ultimately identifies their organization as a community or not. As will be evidenced in Chapter 4, participation in gamelan satisfies its members on various levels, regardless of who they are. These sorts of connections, expectations, and fulfillments also contribute to being a community regardless of other forms of affiliations.

Teaching, Learning, and Interactions

In addition to active music making, Veblen also stresses "applied musical knowing . . . students elect to take part in, often to the point of assuming complete responsibility [for], their own learning and direction" (2007, 3). Within Naga Mas' workshops and rehearsals, teaching and learning are both shared and flexible, as each individual has their own methods of presenting information, and any individual may step into a leadership role at any time. Workshops are also often student-driven, with facilitators from Naga Mas letting the participants take an active role in guiding the direction of their learning.

For the UHJGE, teaching and learning are relatively set, as most participants who find themselves in the potential role of teacher often defer to Susilo or reference what he taught them. Susilo always had the final say in terms of repertoire and group activities. At the same time, Susilo also provided the group with options for a particular style or phrase, saying, "It doesn't matter which we do, as long as we decide as a club."

Naga Mas' history as a "patchwork" that all members bring "bits and pieces" to contributes to how music is taught and led in their community. Whoever possesses the necessary knowledge—be it a drum transition, a *bonang* elaboration, or a vocal melody—shares that knowledge to the best of their ability. Sophie Pragnell explains:

> That's the way it had always been because we started off with no one really knowing anything. It's always been: if someone learns something, they immediately come back and share it with the group . . . someone who really knew the gong part would then teach it to the new person. And then that person [learning the gong part] probably knew the *kenong* part and would teach [it]. (p.c. Sophie Pragnell 11/11/14)

This approach also contributes to how the community composes or devises music together (see Chapter 5 and House 2014). In this sense then, Naga Mas' interactions have always included educating themselves as well as the general public. Teaching and learning take place both internally—as members attend workshops, travel to Java and Bali, and transcribe pieces from recordings and online sources—and externally—as visiting artists, guest musicians, and gamelan tutors from England and Java also contribute to Naga Mas' collective knowledge of music and gamelan.

Susilo's approach to gamelan pedagogy[9] and knowledge remains crucial for the shape and direction of the UHJGE's ideas regarding repertoire and cultural representation. His authority was/is evident in the first- and second-wave members' deferral to him on matters of technique and style. As his health declined and he was forced to abstain from Saturday

rehearsals, members would still consult him on questions or requests for advice. Susilo was always, in the words of one member, "just a phone call away." Because of his long-term, very strong commitment to his students and to gamelan, Susilo was nearly always at the forefront of discussions of gamelan teaching and learning in Hawai'i. While it would be very simple to attribute everything about the UHJGE to Susilo's vision alone, doing so ignores Smith's and Trimillos' work and intentions for the gamelan as well as Susilo's own students and their contributions to the gamelan community. Susilo's concept of gamelan in America does form the bedrock upon which the UHJGE bases their communal coherence; it requires, however, the commitment of all members to make this manifest. More issues surrounding teaching and learning will also be examined in greater depth in Chapter 4 as embodied life stories.

The Role/Contribution of Audiences

While Veblen was more concerned with the participants in Community Music activities, one related component that she does not include is the role of the audience. Are they called upon to be fellow performers or is their participation limited to contemplative consumption? Because they perform in a variety of venues, audiences for Naga Mas' concerts and workshops span the gamut. At beginner's workshops, the final night usually includes a short concert for friends and family of the participants, such that they can show off what they have learned. It is not unusual, however, for these friends and family members—who only imagined themselves as spectators—to be pulled into the performance and asked to fill in on *kenong* or *kempul*. Naga Mas does not have a regular, "loyal" set of concert attendees, but friends, family, and co-workers often come to their shows. And just as often, audience members later become members of the group.

The UHJGE audience likewise has a role to play in the community group. Many audience members make up a loyal following that has been attending gamelan concerts for decades. Several include former members who model correct audience behaviors for newer attendees. The UHJGE's program notes have historically also included instructions on proper audience etiquette such that audience members feel they are contributing to the atmosphere of gamelan performance. The group has even used music specifically to accommodate their audiences. "Gendhing Tunggul Kawang" is used in Java to prevent rain (Gitosaprodjo in Becker 1984). While not a regular in the UHJGE's repertoire, they have performed this piece with the express purpose of keeping their audiences dry (program notes May 1982). Audience members likewise accommodate the UHJGE's performance space by bringing umbrellas, pillows, and blankets.[10] In these ways, both Naga Mas and the UHJGE include their audiences to varying capacities and ensure their relevance in/to each community's priorities. These audiences have active roles to play in the making and perpetuation of community music.

The application of Veblen's issues along with themes suggested by the groups' historical happenings allow us to recognize the priorities of each group and use them to understand how each group perceives and embodies community. These priorities and related concerns form the basis of what each group believes a community gamelan to be and to do. Each group has different attitudes toward accessibility, inclusivity, participation, knowledge, and authority. These attitudes help us locate the specific boundaries which contribute to each community's sense of identity. These are, however, are not rigid or static but rather exist as part of flexible, interpretable, symbolic boundaries.

Symbolic Boundaries

In *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (1985), Anthony Cohen posits that a community is defined by its boundaries. In the past, this would have been a reference to the community's physical and/or geographic boundaries. Two years earlier, however, Benedict Anderson proposed the idea that a community's boundaries may extend past what the individual can readily perceive (1983/1991/2006). Cohen's symbolic boundaries are not those that preclude movement or suggest complete rigidity. Rather they function as characteristics or ideas that contribute to a community's identity. These boundaries, like the coherence systems they contribute to, are simultaneously grounded and imagined; they are concepts that every community member recognizes as crucial to the identity of their community even as each individual construes them differently. While communities may share or identify similar experiences, each community's symbolic boundaries are unique and characteristic of that individual community.

One example of this comes from Naga Mas' attitude toward accessibility. Some members view this as open accessibility and consider their work with beginners, children, student, and family groups to be an important part of who they are as a community. Others interpret accessibility to refer to the members themselves and hold that any member of Naga Mas should be free to use the instruments to both create music and to supplement their income.[11] This generally contributes to a frictionless communal environment as long as members are open and forthright regarding their own knowledge and how they (re)present Javanese culture to the public. Katherine Waumsley spoke candidly about a former member whose only interest in gamelan stemmed from the opportunities it afforded him to expand his own career as a musical workshop leader. This only presented a problem to the community group after it became clear

that he did not know—and did not care to know—the music or culture in any great depth. For this individual, membership in Naga Mas guaranteed *his* access to the instruments for his own purposes. For others, access does not preclude knowledge and awareness of how one represents another culture. Thus while accessibility is a characteristic that all members recognize as crucial to the identity of Naga Mas, individuals within the community interpret its meanings differently. These varying interpretations have led Naga Mas to negotiate and renegotiate their boundaries in terms of their responsibilities to the larger Glaswegian—and Scottish—community and their own personal needs as well as to their roles as representatives and teachers of Javanese gamelan music and culture.

Symbolic boundaries likewise come into play for the UHJGE. Most long-time members identify age as a significant part of the community's identity—both in terms of the longevity of the gamelan group as a whole and of the majority of participating members. The idea that age is a condition of membership, however, was projected by long-term members onto younger, potential members. Bill Remus commented, "We haven't gathered any new people. I think part of it is, we're really old" (p.c. William Remus 4/16/15). Roger Vetter noted, "[I]t's hard when students see the gamelan and think, 'Well that's not for me, everyone has grey hair!'" (p.c. Roger Vetter 4/19/15). Other members connect age with the physical demands of playing gamelan, including moving instruments and sitting on the floor for long stretches. These physical aspects have contributed to where and for what the community will play, and several members have predicted that these will be a cause for major change in the community's membership within the next few years. It is important to note that younger members of the community group acknowledge age without using it as a defining characteristic for membership in the UHJGE.

Like accessibility for Naga Mas, age is a characteristic of the UHJGE but is interpreted differently by individuals.

Music also functions as a defining characteristic of both community groups. The sonic nature of the Spirit of Hope instruments and the music members make on them creates aural boundaries that contribute to Naga Mas' eclectic identity. This will be examined in greater detail in Chapter 5. For now, I will include a few general statements regarding this aspect of their identity. While some of their promotional literature claims that the pitches of Spirit of Hope's *pelog* instruments are similar to equal-tempered pitches (i.e., 1=D; 2=E-flat; 3=F; 4=A-flat; 5=A; 6=B-flat; 7=C), it is demonstrated in Chapter 5 that the pitches are not equivalent (see pg. 170). The *pelog* pitches are distinct enough for people to insist on their idiosyncratic sound, but they are also close enough to allow members to compose for combinations that include Scottish folk and Western instruments. This allows for new interpretations of traditional Javanese gamelan pieces (e.g., "Subakastawa" with bagpipes) and gives audiences fresh ways of hearing familiar songs (e.g., "Ca' the Yowes" and "Mairi's Wedding"). This aspect of the group's identity has called for some compromise, as some members are more interested in traditional Javanese gamelan music while others find more personal fulfillment in creating and performing new music. This has led to the understanding that certain members will not perform with the group depending on the music. Naga Mas, as a community, makes accommodations for these members such that all may continue to participate in some way.

The UHJGE's aural,[12] or musical, boundaries are closely connected to the majority of long-time members' perception of age and the perpetuation of the community itself. Byron Moon explains:

> When I think back, you know, as Pak Sus got to his later years, as it's appropriate for someone in that time of life [interrupts himself] I remember when I first started playing

> *bonang*, he would say something like, 'Ok now, this pattern that you just played, that sounds like a pattern that a *young bonang* player would play.' Show *all* these notes, *up* and down and all over the place. And then, 'There's one that's much more sparse and the beat is slightly delayed,' and that's more what you would hear from a more mature player . . . Now, I don't *need* to say everything, just say enough. So I can see why, for Pak Sus, he wanted to play those big, stately, beautiful *gendhing*. Which is great, but then we also have to have the stuff that excites the younger ones so that one day they too can get old and play big slow *gendhing*, right? (p.c. Byron Moon 4/29/15; emphasis in original)

During my time in the UHJGE, Susilo and other members (e.g., Moon, Remus, and Gary Dunn) reinforced this approach. They urged me to play the sparse melodies: in other words, I should play like a mature *bonang* player in her later years rather than like the young *bonang* musician who wanted to play it all. The very sound of the ensemble itself, then, is affected by the community's perception of age. Moon's explanation, however, evidences the kind of contradictions possible in symbolic boundaries. Even as he notes the appropriateness of relating age to playing style, he also expresses concern for finding ways of musically satisfying younger players such that they may continue (in) the group.

Another aspect of their musical and age-related symbolic boundaries has to do with the community's (approach to) repertoire which remains grounded in traditional works popular in Java in the mid- to late-20th century; works Susilo "cut his teeth on" and subsequently taught his students.[13] This repertoire remains "basically our combined memory or knowledge of what music is" (p.c. Roger Vetter 4/19/15). Thus, while members of the community do enjoy learning pieces, they also communicated hesitation toward the idea of any drastic changes in the type of repertoire they perform.[14] Several members described a certain graduate student's attempt to stage a contemporary *wayang kulit*. One member said she thought it was "very silly," while another commented that the composer, "got too much out of the tradition and is not remembered favorably . . . He didn't have classic stories, and he didn't approach it with the same techniques

and same approach that a, even if it was a different story, it wasn't approached in the same way."[15] While noting that it is not unusual today for composers to play with traditions and commenting that this graduate student was "way ahead of his time," the implication was that by breaking with what the community recognizes as tradition (e.g., traditional Javanese stories and performance practices appropriate for *wayang kulit*), the graduate student's interpretation of the boundaries of the community were too different from those of other members. The community could not support this individual's interpretations of the music and, as such, not only did this person not remain with the group, his interpretations of what and who the community was did not affect the community itself.[16]

Symbolic boundaries are the characteristics that help define each gamelan community. For the UHJGE, age/seniority and traditionality of repertoire and/or context function as interpretable symbolic boundaries. Naga Mas works to engender social good and individual benefit as well as repertoire and pedagogy that promotes accessibility (again, individually defined). Understanding these boundaries is exceedingly helpful when trying to parse the complexities of community gamelan groups outside of Indonesia. Cohen notes that, "Symbols do not so much express meaning as give us the capacity to make meaning" (1985, 15). Individuals ascribe their own meaning to symbols, and these meanings become part of the fabric of their communities.

It is also here where we find the first indication that community is capapble of encompassing and dealing with both positive and negative attributes. The symbolic boundaries discussed above imply a general consensus of what is appropriate even as individual members reserve the right to their own interpretations. This consensus may be achieved through negotiation with/of a single authority (i.e., Susilo) or through a combination of external

influences and internal priorities (i.e., the goals of Ian Ritchie and the Glasgow Social Work Department and community musician members of Naga Mas). In this way, it becomes apparent that communities may not always be "warm and fuzzy." This will be evidenced further in Chapter 4, where Naga Mas and the UHJGE members' life stories express different, and sometimes opposing, views of their experiences of gamelan. It is coherence, and the negotiation of that coherence, that must become part of what a community is and does and, subsequently, must become part of scholarly theorization of community.

Because of this, I suggest in the following section that an absence of one, presumably vital characteristic of affinity community—*communitas*—should also engender a reexamination of the theory, not a questioning of lived experiences.

Communitas

Ted Solís writes that "the emotions engendered and engaged through the act of ensemble creation and participation are profound and volatile" (2004, 2). As mentioned in earlier chapters, Maria Mendonça's dissertation includes quotes from her friends and teachers describing gamelan as "utopian" as well as a "powerful drug" (2002). This she relates directly to Victor Turner's *communitas* or "the modality of human interrelatedness" (1982, 45). According to Turner, *communitas* tends to occur in moments of liminality wherein people interact and experience profound levels of togetherness. The experiences of *communitas* are powerful but finite moments, separate from the day-to-day norm. Mendonça posits that the *communitas* experienced by gamelan members outside of Indonesia is not only crucial to their continued commitment but is something they actively try to teach. One difficulty with this lies in what Turner himself describes as the "*communitas* paradox."[17] Another difficulty I discovered lies in the perception of

communitas as separate from the everyday norm. This section explores both the UHJGE and Naga Mas' experiences in relation to *communitas* to suggest an additional aspect of this concept—what I am calling cumulative *communitas* or human interrelatedness built through everyday actions—and what it can contribute to our understanding of community.

Despite an emphasis on sociability, there is a difficulty in the perception of *communitas* as it has been used to describe moments of musical oneness. One problem comes from Mendonça's presentation of *communitas* as it relates to her interlocutors' experiences of gamelan (2002). On the one hand, she repeatedly uses the phrases "utopian musical community" and "utopian ideal" when describing how her interlocutors perceive gamelan.[18] On the other hand, when explaining *musical sociability*, which she defines as "the socializing around (before and after) the context of performance" (374), Mendonça and her interlocutors locate sociability in having a "drink and a chat" after playing. She does not clearly explain how this kind of casual socializing leads to the heady classification of gamelan as a "utopian musical community" (5, 291, 368) and a "powerful drug" (538).

Mendonça's *sociable musicality* presents a stronger argument for feelings of power and oneness.[19] She and her interlocutors identify sociable musicality as a "communal feeling" which exists during the performance of gamelan music. Mendonça is not alone here as Thomas Turino similarly links *communitas* to performance, writing:

> Without diminishing the importance of music listening, I would suggest that music making and dancing provide a special type of activity for *directly connecting with other participants,* for the intense concentration leads to flow, and for an even deeper involvement with the sonic signs that *create effects of feeling and physical reaction and thus personal integration*. (2008, 19; my emphasis)

Additionally, Sally Sommer's "vibe," or an "active communal force" (2009, 285) which takes participants out of the everyday, is also situated in moments of performance.

Naga Mas and the UHJGE members suggest contrasting views because their musical sociability evidences stronger connections than "having a drink and a chat" and their sociable musicality does not necessarily locate moments of intense personal interaction in the performance of gamelan music. Powerful moments of togetherness in music making was not what they themselves emphasized when asked about their interactions as part of a gamelan community. Many of the first-wave UHJGE members identified the 1973 trip to Java and the *rombongan* Hawai'i as the catalyst for their *communitas*. Sutton explained, "That experience after we came back was something else, another level of things or experiences that the community shared . . . *Clearly community beyond just the moment spent actually playing or performing was very much a part of it*" (p.c. R. Anderson Sutton 4/20/15; my emphasis). Vetter described his experiences as part of the *rombongan* Hawai'i as a "different [way] of being in the world that changed me forever basically" (p.c. Roger Vetter 4/19/15).

Vetter also (re)located the powerful experiences of togetherness back into the everyday, saying, "It went beyond the musical communication of a brass quintet or something like that to the community interactions that spilled out into the clothes we wore and the details we could talk about and the food we were cooking and . . . that kind of stuff" (ibid). Moon and Pattie Dunn also pointed to many social activities that they took part in: weekend parties at Susilo's house, classes they all took together, and individuals who dated and then married each other.[20] For Vetter and other members of the UHJGE, then, it was the near continuous musical sociability—the creation of *kampung*[21] through acts of familial normativity—during their formative university years that created powerful feelings of togetherness.

These kinds of musical sociability contributed to the *communitas* experienced by first-wave members. And while these feelings have remained strong for these members, and indeed

persist as part of their identities, there is an element of Turner's *communitas* paradox at work. It is difficult to sustain the collective feeling of oneness achieved during *communitas* because "the *experience* of communitas becomes the *memory* of communitas" (Turner 1982, 47; emphasis in original). Several second-wave members acknowledge a difference between themselves and the first-wave members. One member commented:

> I understand that when it was first founded, there was a very intense sense of community . . . By the time I came into it, it was pretty split. There were the old timers, and more of them than there are now, who had been there from the beginning or nearly the beginning. And then there were the rest of us . . . people felt judged by the old timers, and sometimes that became very explicit from the old timers. (p.c. anonymous 4/23/15)

Remus differentiates between the "golden years" (1970s)—ones of great enthusiasm with the "amazing . . . total summer trip to Java"—and the "silver years" (1990s)—still good but unable to achieve the same level of intensity because of the age of the participants. Tschudi also noted this kind of decline, saying that he understood the early days of the 1970s to be full of youthful energy when the students "lived and breathed" gamelan. When Tschudi joined, Susilo's energy was beginning to decline, and the community group as a whole was aging.

In writing of the crucial role memory plays in the creation of history, Maurice Halbwachs noted:

> All people . . . instinctively adopt in regard to times past the attitude of the Greek philosophers who put the golden age not at the end of the world but at its beginning. Although there are periods of our existence that we might willingly cut off . . . there is a kind of retrospective mirage by which a great number of us persuade ourselves that the world of today has less color and is less interesting than it was in the past, in particular our childhood and youth . . . (1992, 48)

Coupling this with Dan McAdams' theories that the formation of identity begins in late adolescence and early adulthood (1988) explains the potency of gamelan as part of the first-wave members' own life stories (explored further in Chapter 4). During many of our conversations, Pattie Dunn acknowledged that my experience of the gamelan group was very different from her

own. She often examined her identity within the "new" gamelan, questioning how far it is appropriate to take her role of *Ibu* (mother). Moon also noted the care long-term members[22] should take when interacting with each other and with newer members: "Gotta be careful. Because sometimes I think we don't realize, we may be talking about the old days . . . That's the trick, I think, that whole, everybody feeling included" (p.c. Byron Moon 4/29/15). The differentiation between what I have termed the first- and second-wave members has thus been acknowledged by "markers of membership" (p.c. R. Anderson Sutton 4/20/15) in experiences of *communitas* that later members were not privy to but who nonetheless knew about and felt from the outside.

One way both first- and second-wave members contribute to and perpetuate *communitas* is through liminality and restored behavior (Schechner 1985). Liminality is a transitional period, an in-between-ness, wherein *communitas* may be experienced but not only in the context of performance. Indeed, this is where Mendonça's musical sociability comes into play. The UHJGE's liminality happens through acts and behaviors that take place outside of performance—as the examples above suggest—and in the stages leading up to and away from performance: their training, rehearsals, "warm-ups" and "cool-downs." Their performance-day rituals, which are performed with care and deliberation and which include preparing the instruments, a *selamatan*, and dressing (see Chapter 4), allow for what Richard Schechner calls restored behavior: "me behaving as if I am someone else . . . But this 'someone else' may also be 'me in another state of feeling/being' . . . Restored behavior offers to both individuals and groups the chance to rebecome what they once were" (1985, 37-38).

In contrast, hardly any members of Naga Mas mentioned powerful moments of togetherness as part of their experiences of gamelan, in or out of performance. As with the

UHJGE, I have no doubt that these moments occur, but they are not what the gamelan members chose to focus on when considering their involvement in, and commitment to, gamelan. Some members did reference past gamelan get-togethers but no one mentioned anything like "living and breathing" gamelan. Likewise, their liminality is much less ritualistic. Most members happily classify the people in Naga Mas as good, interesting, diverse individuals they enjoy being with. But these social activities are a far cry from perceiving gamelan as "something of a utopian ideal" (Mendonça 2002, 291) in which individuals experience "direct, immediate, and total confrontations of human identities" (Turner 1982, 46). Neil Wells' comment at the beginning of this chapter identifies his hesitation to attribute Turner's *communitas* to Naga Mas. Even though he has not experienced any form of "transcendent intensity" in the context of Naga Mas, Wells does not find this problematic or a valid reason for not joining or not continuing with the group. His, and other members', experiences are satisfying, challenging, rewarding, and important enough to be sustained. This is, again, more in keeping with a kind of day-to-day building of *communitas* rather than intense liminal moments. One may argue that Turner's normative *communitas* may be applicable here, but in that instance, individuals are consciously attempting to recreate the conditions for spontaneous *communitas*. The UHJGE and Naga Mas seem more content to build relationships through various commonplace activities that could result in *communitas* but do not require it.

Communitas acts as a symbolic boundary here because powerful moments of togetherness *have* shaped the UHJGE, but they do no necessarily take place in performance and are interpreted and experienced differently by individuals. Members of Naga Mas do not rely on these powerful moments of togetherness identified by Mendonça and Turner, but rather, like the UHJGE, work together through day-to-day activities to build communal togetherness.

The realities of both groups seem to suggest that rather than acting as discrete moments, *communitas* may also function in interconnected layers and has the potential to interact more with daily life than Turner perceived. What I am calling cumulative *communitas* is achieved through seemingly casual, ordinary interactions that, taken together over time and in the various liminal spaces, contribute to a stronger feeling of integration. This does not, however, deny the simultaneous presence of Turner's spontaneous *communitas*. It also does not negate Mendonça's suggestion that some community gamelan groups may attempt to institutionalize normative *communitas*. Rather, it suggests a subtle distinction. Whereas spontaneous *communitas* occurs freely and extemporaneously, and normative *communitas* is conscientiously built and organized into a social structure, cumulative *communitas,* as demonstrated by the UHJGE and Naga Mas, exists somewhere in between. Members create the potentiality for *communitas* but not always in formalized ways. Cumulative *communitas* empowers the small, day-to-day experiences that do not exist in a vacuum but collectively contribute to a community's coherence and identity. Cumulative *communitas*, and the implied layering, allows for the separate, sometimes contradictory, experiences evidenced by members of the UHJGE and Naga Mas. It also allows us to view communities in a more realistic light rather than as "utopian musical communities" or strings of powerful moments held together by long periods of insignificant mundanity.

Ideas about Community: The Communities Speak

It is important to note that while scholars argue about, against, or for the utility of "community," non-academics also lay claim to this term, using it and interpreting it in ways that affect and reflect a globalized, cosmopolitan world. It would be imprudent for scholars to decide on a definition of community or indeed to discount the term altogether without considering how

it is defined and embodied by our interlocutors, teachers, and friends. It is their embodiment of community that drives and supports any concept of affinity. Therefore, it is vital to include perspectives of the community members themselves. For my friends, teachers, and colleagues in Naga Mas and the UHJGE, community may refer to an institution, a state of mind, or an assortment of (powerful and mundane) feelings.[23] These differentiations also reflect the distinctions between *communitas* and community as utilized by anthropologists, sociologists, and ethnomusicologists; *communitas* is often the feeling or experiences of (members of) a community. In this section, I use community to refer more to the organization or institution, but, because of the opinions of my interlocutors, my conceptualization of community is always informed by their expectations or anticipated feelings.

In the course of my fieldwork, I spoke with a range of members in both Naga Mas and the UHJGE[24]—from long-time members to very new recruits to former participants. Their comments and insights into the nature of community became recurring themes that also helped establish the identity and tenor of their respective communities. As such, these themes reflect concepts important to each group; this is why each group's themes are different. I first explore themes suggested by members of the UHJGE: 1) the community's relationship with UHM, 2) community's lack of positivity, and 3) Susilo's contribution to their (sense of) community.

The University of Hawai'i Javanese Gamelan Ensemble

Theme #1 The Community and the University

During the interview described at the beginning of this chapter, Amit Chaturvedi noted a close connection between the community gamelan group and the academic world to which the instruments belong: "the community is much more strongly rooted in . . . its ties with UH." He

also commented on the fact that none of its members "came off the street" (p.c. Amit Chaturvedi 4/13/15). R. Anderson Sutton also commented that, "the perception of the larger public is that it's the UH gamelan group . . . You know, there are *real* community gamelans" (p.c. R. Anderson Sutton 4/20/15; emphasis in original). Sutton opined that the Boston Village Gamelan and *Sekar Jaya* are better examples of true community gamelans, particularly the Boston Village Gamelan which has no connection to a university. He did, however, acknowledge an overlap in the community vs. academic dichotomy. Trimillos' comments emphasizing the gamelan curriculum over the gamelan club and the insistence that members of the community group be former students (see pg. 84) further supports the interrelatedness of the UHJGE and UHM.

Despite this, some gamelan members expressed doubt as to gamelan's sustainability within music departments. Vetter observed that, "there's no way a gamelan is really going to survive in an institution" (p.c., Roger Vetter 4/18/15). He seemed to believe that the future of gamelan in the United States, and perhaps elsewhere, depends on independent community gamelan groups. "Gamelan will keep going in some way or another, but it's always going to be a struggle. And it's been increasingly so without institutional support" (ibid).

Given their physical location on UHM's campus and UHM's ownership of the gamelan instruments, it is not unusual that members raised the group's relationship with the university when talking about community. The perception that members of the larger, Hawai'i population[25] do not join "off the street;" that there are other, more legitimately communal community gamelan groups; and that the music department's focus is on the curriculum has led several members to question the validity of calling the UHJGE a community or a community gamelan to begin with. This is where the designation "affinity community" is useful. Being committed to a group of people and joined by common interests, varied relationships, obligations, histories, and

more is applicable here, regardless of institutional affiliation. Being associated with UHM does not, in this case, preclude the UHJGE from community status; this association is merely one facet of their identity.

Theme #2 Community's (Lack of) Positivity

Some members' conceptualization of community is tied to emotional associations with the term itself. Despite scholarly assertion that community as a term implies positivity, gamelan members are keenly aware that communal experiences are not exclusively positive. In noting the community's dependence on Susilo and Moon, Chaturvedi said, "Whatever dynamism that this idea of community can lend, can foster, it's not quite here in this group. For better or worse, I don't know" (p.c. Amit Chaturvedi 4/13/15). Despite this, Chaturvedi identified possibilities for growth and acceptance in the UHJGE. Sutton also commented on a phenomenon of gamelan participation which can establish feelings of connection even when individuals do not get along:

> So in terms of community, I think [the gamelan] is such an unusual thing socially, aesthetically, that it is kind of an automatic thing that you share that does define you in certain cases, but I've always marveled at how gamelan can incorporate people who would not socialize very well, and sometimes *don't* socialize very well, but you can make music together. So symbolically you're associated because everyone's following the *bonang* or the drum. (p.c. R. Anderson Sutton 4/20/15, emphasis in original)

As seen in the anonymous comment above (see pg. 97), one member connected the idea of community to feelings, saying that the "split" she perceived between members "didn't really feel like a community . . . It felt like everybody was there because they loved to be there but not a lot of warmth" (p.c. 4/23/15). This statement may call into question to applicability of affinity. While the term may imply communal agreement and desire, can affinity communities exist without "warmth"? Like Chaturvedi, this member remains hopeful, qualifying her earlier statement by identifying networks rather than divisions within the current group:

> Sometimes I'm surprised at the people who seem to be really engaged in some common thing together that I thought were not even friends. But I think that's good, because I think that's knit the group together so that even though people aren't on the same page with each other, there are enough cross things that it's not that kind of split I felt at the beginning. (ibid)

Moon also mentioned general feelings of disconnect and alienation and referred to the "haves and the have-nots in terms of experience." He was adamant in trying "not to pass on that tradition. Share the experiences but not at the expense of your good feeling . . . [T]hen that's our responsibility as the older generation to help the younger generation have some good experiences" (p.c. Byron Moon 4/28/15).

Here, UHJGE members identify both the ideals and the realities of community through their desire for feelings of dynamism, connection, and belonging and their acknowledgement of difficulties, misunderstandings, and responsibilities. Chaturvedi's, Sutton's, and the anonymous member's comments seem to suggest that the ideals of community are possible and that community—as a concept—will remain hopeful, and endure, even if not always positive. These perceptions turn the idea of gamelan as a kind of "magic utopian community" on its head and suggest instead that community is capable of incorporating negative aspects.

Theme #3 Community and Pak Hardja Susilo

Pak Hardja Susilo (1934-2015) was the venerated teacher of hundreds of music students over his forty-five year association with gamelan at UHM. Many ethnomusicology students who left Hawai‘i remained close to Susilo, and a handful of his first gamelan students never left, remaining with the community gamelan group for decades. Susilo created a "bridge to Java" (2004) for eager young music and dance students, and he also came to represent authenticity, authority, continuity, and tradition.

Vetter identified Susilo, and all the experiences of gamelan that he facilitated in the 1970s, as major factors in the creation of community: "it was more what we did as a group, and this feeling of a group with this nucleus of Sus radiating out all this energy" (p.c. Roger Vetter 4/18/15). Members who joined much later, in the 1990s, also located the nucleus of community in Susilo. Tschudi expressed loyalty to Susilo as forming the foundation of his perception of community. He identified an unspoken agreement with Susilo—"He would teach, and I would play" (p.c. Daniel Tschudi)—as part of his (Tschudi's) obligation to the continuity of the community group: "By coming, by showing up, by giving time, you're allowing the gamelan to go on" (ibid).

The authority and authenticity invested in Susilo led many members to discuss the community's need for a Javanese leader. Sutton noted, "If [Susilo] was a major attraction . . . I think it's going to be important to bring in a Javanese [teacher]" (p.c. R. Anderson Sutton 4/20/15). Moon expressed related concerns, mentioning the need to have "a lot of visiting artists' input to keep injecting new information and 'authentic' Javanese energy into it" (p.c. Byron Moon 4/28/15). The desire for a Javanese leader surfaced even as members recognized other options available to the community group. Tschudi, for example, spoke very eloquently about the community gamelan's reaction to Susilo's death and the memorial concert they played in his honor. While identifying this concert as proof that the group could "put on a show without Sus being there and feel like we had done justice to his memory," Tschudi still opined that:

> I *do* think we need somebody from Java, a musician to come and lead us culturally, musically, artistically, creatively, and if we don't get that, it will be hard to really progress as a group and also to attract more interest or more life. (p.c. Daniel Tschudi 4/25/15; emphasis in original)

Members of the UHJGE recognize Susilo's importance to their *sense* of community as well as to the *reality* of their community. This invested authenticity and authority will be

explored further in subsequent chapters (particularly 4 and 6). For now, it is important to note this connection and the importance UHJGE members place not only on who Susilo was but also what he came to represent. Consciously, and I suspect in some ways unconsciously, Susilo created the expectations of what a (or at least their) community gamelan can and should be in the eyes of members.

Naga Mas members likewise contributed to numerous discussions on the nature of community. On the whole, they tended to comment on what a community encompasses/does/should do rather than on what a community is. Because each group has different priorities, themes that arose in discussion with Naga Mas members are as follows: 1) community's dependence on volunteers, 2) the importance of sustainability and accessibility, and 3) how positivity-through-compromise can exist as a goal of community.

Naga Mas

Theme #1 Community and Volunteering

Several members of Naga Mas focused on volunteering as a very practical aspect of community. Noting the volunteer nature of their group, Bill Whitmer commented on conflicting expectations one has regarding involvement in a community gamelan. On the one hand, it is often difficult to attract volunteers—as people have jobs, school, families, and other commitments—and to organize and schedule rehearsals and gigs, particularly if said gigs require extra rehearsals. On the other hand, "You've gotta have that attitude of just giving of yourself to the whole thing, otherwise the gamelan is going to sound bad" (p.c. Bill Whitmer 12/3/14).

Friction can arise between volunteering and commitment as members struggle to find solutions/balance that will benefit both themselves and the whole community. Member Gordon MacKinnon, noted:

> In terms of commitment as well, I'd spend at least . . . you know I design the flyers and so on as well and that's been one of the things I've been taking up with the group. If there's a flurry of shows on, as there was this year, I'd have spent hours and hours working for the group and even though it is voluntary, I've been raising with the committee that I should be paid, even if it's peanuts . . . I think it can't be sustained, that level of commitment . . . It is a huge commitment. That's part of the reason why I think if they expand the committee, it won't be just three people doing lots of [things]. It'll be more people doing less and that makes it far more likely that people will be keen. They won't feel like they're biting off too much. (p.c. Gordon MacKinnon 11/24/14)

Other members of the group recognize different goals among members who volunteer their time, energy, and resources; those who—like MacKinnon—would like to be paid and those who, in addition to their time with Naga Mas, want to incorporate gamelan into their current career objectives (see Chapter 4). Waumsley observes that some of these discrepancies may be resolved if Naga Mas becomes an arts company as opposed to a community gamelan. She says, however,

> I don't think there really is the will amongst volunteers who really just want to play gamelan. I mean, there's people like myself and [Margaret Smith], that's our career . . . and another thing is lots of people that are really involved in it also want to do paid work [with the gamelan/using the instruments]. So that would be a real conflict. So for the last few years, I've basically given up the chance of getting paid gamelan work in order to volunteer to keep Naga Mas afloat . . . and that sounds really sacrificial. I'm not meaning it like that. (p.c. Katherine Waumsley 11/15/14)

Waumsley commented that fundamentally, the group's main resource is volunteers—both for the committee and as regular members. Thus it would arguably be easier to get another set of gamelan instruments than it would be to get another set of volunteers.

Member Thomas Brumby presents a potentially more positive spin on the search for balance between self- and communal- gains. He opines that "it's a good idea to take a bit of a

risk to [volunteer to] do something new because you don't know who you're going to meet through it, and you might end up doing something completely different" (p.c. Thomas 12/9/14). As a result, Naga Mas' communal identity depends in large part on who their volunteers are, what they want, and how they perceive fairness and compromise within community.

Theme #2 Community, Sustainability, and Accessibility

The related issues of continuity and sustainability were vividly addressed by several members of Naga Mas. Whitmer notes that it is important to find a way to include community members who have "hit their ceiling" in terms of musical knowledge. He recognizes the necessity of having goals that speak to everyone's skill levels in ways that sustains interest, knowledge, and growth. The current convener, Jena Thomson, commented that "it's surprising, the number of people, that when I say, 'And I play in a gamelan ensemble called Naga Mas,' they're like, 'Oh! I know somebody who goes there" (p.c. Jena Thomson 11/22/14). MacKinnon argues strongly for capitalizing on this general recognition of the community. He points to the utility of beginners' workshops as recruitment tools and notes that the organization and timing of these workshops should be considered in light of public interest:

> In the past, people have written to the group or seen the show and wanted to go in the beginner's classes, and then we didn't have any for ages, so I decided . . . I decided [chuckles] I *suggested* that if we have beginners' classes pretty soon after a show that means that people wouldn't lose interest. Because lots of times we'd [have the beginner's class] eight months after they first expressed interest. By that time, they'd moved on. After the December gig in Mono, we'd got interest from people like Jena and Duncan and Neil and Lucas[26] . . . so we had those beginners. And then again after our show at West End Festival and Merchant City Festival again, basically taking advantage of that enthusiasm . . . which we needed for the group . . . We'd dwindled into such small numbers that it wasn't guaranteed whether . . . if we did have gigs, we could perform . . . There was a danger of the group not being stable enough. (p.c. Gordon MacKinnon 11/24/14; emphasis in original)

MacKinnon's comments highlight the interplay between Naga Mas as an insular body with their own schedules and priorities and the need to accommodate the general public, from which the community draws their volunteers, in order to sustain the group.

Many members have also identified certain obligations to the larger Glaswegian community that tie into their perception of accessibility. This goes back to the initial goal for the gamelan instruments expressed by Ian Ritchie and Chris Jay (Chapter 2). Regarding this goal, Wells said, "I don't think *every* gamelan has this duty. I think our gamelan [community] in particular does because of the history of it and the origin of the instruments" (p.c. Neil Wells 9/22/15; emphasis in original). Part of this obligation is a focus on accessibility in many forms, some of which were described above.[27]

Another aspect of accessibility discussed by members is flexibility regarding fees or dues for participants. Historically, Naga Mas was free for members. There may have been some cost to join the beginners' workshops but that was put towards paying the teacher. Naga Mas relied substantially on grants and other forms of public funding. Due to dwindling numbers and changes in Glasgow City Council's funding guidelines, Naga Mas has recently begun asking members to pay a small fee for each rehearsal they attend. Because accessibility is very much a part of Naga Mas' identity, however, they do not require this payment, asking members to contribute if they are able and insisting that everyone should always attend rehearsals regardless. Thomson, noted, "I really appreciate the fact that it's free if you need it to be. I don't mind contributing to the running cost of it, but I like that it's open, genuinely open, to anyone" (p.c. Jena Thomson 11/22/14).

Theme #3 Positivity-through-Compromise as a Goal of Community

In speaking about a former member of Naga Mas, Waumsley said, "[Signy Jakobsdottir] was sure that music was good, that it was a good thing to do in the world. . . That really stuck with me for years" (p.c. Katherine Waumsley 11/15/14). As with the UHJGE, Naga Mas members identify the desire for positivity in community even as they recognize the difficulties in achieving it. Waumsley's "consultation exercise" and the committee's goal of "having a group of people in a room playing gamelan and enjoying it" (see Chapter 2 pg. 57) speak to their aspirations to not only create positive experiences for members but to actively engage members in the creation of communal positivity.

Everyone I spoke to, while expressing their own opinions—often very strongly—also recognized the difficulties inherent in pushing their opinions on the community too strongly. This collective recognition led to an interesting commonality among Naga Mas members. On three separate occasions, individual members[28] shared with me their frustration and anger with other, current and former, members. These individuals, it was felt, did not adhere to the priorities of the community, tried to exercise too much control, or were not ambitious enough for the good of the community. In every single case, however, each individual tempered their criticisms with specific positive aspects of the person(s) they were censuring. They acknowledge the importance of active compromise even at times of formidable disagreement because of the time and experiences they have shared: "We've known each other for quite a long time now," Jakobsdottir stated, "so I think we're good at supporting each other" (p.c. Signy Jakobsdottir 11/14/14). This Naga Mas example suggests that compromise is a powerful component of community, and that positive and negative feelings can coexist.

All of these themes suggest several important aspects of community: 1) that community and university/institutional affiliation are not mutually exclusive; 2) that community—as a concept—is capable of encapsulating both positive and negative aspects; 3) that a community's sustainability may be strongly dependent on a single individual, not only for what that individual does but also for what they represent; and 4) that a community's sustainability might, likewise, be strongly dependent on the beliefs, values, and priorities of its volunteers. The themes suggested by both UHJGE and Naga Mas members regarding community contribute greatly to their own sense of identity and give insight into how community gamelans function. These themes also suggest a broader approach to affinity.

Defining Affinity

Thus far, my examination has largely been focused on community as a reality and a conceptualization. At this time, I would like to examine more deeply affinity's possible uses for understanding community gamelan groups outside of Indonesia. This section first explores various ways affinity has been defined and categorized by ethnomusicologists in relation to community. I then contrast these with other definitions of the term in order to contextualize the ethnomusicological use. Finally, I offer my own definition of affinity community that informs my analyses in subsequent chapters.

In cultural scholarship, affinity is often included with other subcategories of community.[29] Shelemay dedicates a large portion of her article, "Musical Communities: Rethinking the Collective in Music" (2011), for example, to the examination of a "continuum of community" which is made up of what she identifies as three unique but potentially overlapping processes: descent, dissent, and affinity:

Descent >>>>>>>>>>>>> **Dissent** >>>>>>>>>>>>> **Affinity**[30]

Descent communities are those "united through what are understood from within to be shared identities, whether they are grounded in historical fact, are newly invented, or emerge from some combination of historical circumstance and creative transformation" (16). Dissent communities are those formed based on opposition, generally to some kind of dominant majority. Affinity communities are defined as those which "[emerge] first and foremost from individual preferences, quickly followed by a desire for social proximity or association with others equally enamored" (21-22). Despite her insistence that these processes constitute a continuum, Shelemay clearly delineates different motivations that identify each type:

> Whatever the basis of attraction, an affinity community assumes its shape based in the first instance on individual volition, in contrast to motivations deriving from ascribed or inherited factors (descent) or driven by specific ideological commitments or connections (dissent). (ibid)

From this, affinity's fundamental attributes appear to be choice and desire. This attribution of choice may be traced back to Mark Slobin's *Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West* (]1993] 2000). His definition of affinity intercultures (Chapter 1 pg. 2) has become a standard within ethnomusicology and scholarship on Community Music (e.g., Mendonça 2002; Veblen 2002; Avril in Slobin 2004; Frith 2004; Sumarsam in Slobin 2004; Corney 2007; Azcona 2008; Flaig 2010; Flynn 2011; Shelemay 2011; Duchan 2012; Lueck 2012; Benyon and Veblen 2012; Clendinning 2013; Bithell 2014; Veblen et. al 2014). These are just a sample of sources that directly quote Slobin's definition. Ellen Lueck's 2012 thesis on Balinese Gamelan affinity groups in North America construes Slobin's definition as centering specifically on choice: "the *affinity group* is based upon choice—individuals chosing to engage in musical activity and community which is not necessarily rooted in one's own cultural heritage or upbringing" (10;

italics in original). Even music bloggers[31] and world music ensemble webistes[32] employ Slobin's exact quote to describe their experiences and activities.

While he does not strictly define affinity itself, Slobin associates it with strong attractions, writing that, "Musics seem to call out to audiences across nation-state lines[33] even when they are not part of heritage or of a commodified, disembodied network" (68). He comments further that the ease of mobility in terms of international travel since the 1960s "has accelerated this *rather random bonding* of individuals to musics" (ibid; my emphasis).

This association of affinity with choice and desire has led scholars to use specific language when describing these kinds of communities. Veit Erlmann connects affinity to aesthetic communities, which are "all those social formations—the loose affiliations, groupings, neo-tribes, and cult groups of free-floating individuals—that are not anchored in rigid structures of control, habitus and filiation" (1998, 13). The language used here, and by other scholars—"charmed," "magnetic," bonding," "taste," "free-floating," "loose," imagine," "feel," "freedom," "leisure," "belonging," "temporary," and "random"—implies intangibility and emotional or artistic vagary. This is in stark contrast to the descriptors used for Shelemay's descent and dissent communities and Slobin's industrial and diasporic intercultures: "ethnicity," "nationality," "religion," "kinship/family," "political unrest," "displacement," "outcry," and "rebellion." While many of the latter set of words are no less intangible than the first, they are given more attention and credibility when it comes to analysis. It seems because of these associations scholars have been content to gloss over the complicated nature of affinity communities and not move beyond choice and desire. I posit that there are ways to use more concrete language to explore and describe (the nature of) affinity (see also Chapter 7). I also acknowledge that emotional connection to the people, music, and/or culture constitutes a part of

affinity. Since this are addressed more in other sources (particularly in Shelemay and Slobin), I chose to explore other potentialities and to see if those may also be covered by affinity.

It is evident from affinity's many dictionary definitions that the term is capable of including connections based on more than personal preference and social proximity. *The Oxford English Dictionary* alone offers eleven separate definitions. While initially defining affinity quite simply as "senses relating to connection, and to the forming of connection," subsequent entries elaborate on the nature of these connections. For example, affinity is first defined in opposition to consanguinity (a "relationship by marriage (as distinguished from relationship by blood"), and then as a synonym for it ("A family or group related to a person by blood; a kindred"). There is a religious definition which suggests a shared ideology: "The state of being spiritually linked as a result of sponsoring a child at baptism or confirmation; spiritual connection between godparents and godchild (or his or her parents), or between the godparents themselves." Definitions from linguistics as well as various hard sciences, including biology, refer to affinity as resemblances or connections arising from common ancestors. It is not until the seventh entry that the definition music and cultural scholars take for granted appears: "Liking or attraction to a person or thing; natural inclination towards something."[34] Thus, affinity can indicate kinship and blood ties, ideological connections, and common ancestors or origins, as well as personal inclination. This is the affinity exemplified by the UHJGE and Naga Mas; both ensembles recognize familial connections, shared identities, and common ideologies and beliefs as well as independent choice and interest as part of their commitment to and membership in their respective communities. These are explored in greater detail in the subsequent chapters.

In her 2013 dissertation, *Pedagogy, Performance, and Community in the Transnational Balinese Traditional Performing Arts Scene*, Elizabeth Clendinning posits that, "the idea of

affinity . . . must be nuanced with respect to the larger transnational gamelan community" (50). She continues by stating that, "although 'affinity' may function as a concept to describe how non-Balinese musicians become interested in gamelan and why they continue to play, other aspects of these community connections—such as mutual obligations and created kinships, both musical and cultural—better indicate the long-term social bonds that can arise within transnational gamelan communities" (51). Clendinning seems to suggest that these things happen *despite* affinity, which here is linked only to desire or interest. Based on my research, I argue that affinity itself encompasses these other communal connections (obligation, created kinship, shared identity and ideologies, etc.). Thus we find, in both "community" and "affinity" the potential for complex and robust definitions as well as room for nuanced interpretations.

I propose that Naga Mas and the UHJGE are affinity communities initially because of the basic characteristics outlined by Slobin and Shelemay. However, to say that the members of Naga Mas and the UHJGE created, joined, and maintain their respective communities solely because they were intrigued by or enjoyed gamelan tells us next to nothing about the groups themselves and denies the possibility for "ascribed or inherited factors" and "ideological commitments or connections" that do exist within these groups. The nature of affinity communities begins with interest and choice, but they do not end there. Because of my experiences with Naga Mas and the UHJGE, I offer the following definition of affinity community:

> A group of people, either face-to-face or "imagined," initially united through common interests, passions, or goals who—through varied and variable communal learning, teaching, performing, growing, agreement, conflict, and time—establish a shared and evolving identity based on internally created coherence principles.

While initially and purposefully broad, there are some ways a collection of people may not be considered an affinity community; for example, if they do not act together in ways that

establish themselves as a community with acknowledged coherence systems. An outsider may perceive connections between participants in Aaron Kuffner's Gamelatron installations and identify them as a potential affinity community. If those participants do not identify themselves as such and if they do not establish a coherent shared identity, I would not consider them an affinity community. Also, and particularly regarding musical or artistic communities that utilize aspects of another culture, if a community does not negotiate or in any way interact with the notion of authenticity. Affinity communities do not need to be "authentic" (whatever that might mean), nor must they strictly imitate an agreed-upon authenticity. They should, however, at some point in their history and as an ongoing process of their communal identity have discussed, enacted, or in some way dealt with their relationship(s) to the originating culture. If a group of individuals who share a common interest do not exhibit the above characteristics, I would not call them an affinity community.

This definition also suggests that affinity communities are not reliant on "warm or fuzzy feelings." Rather, cumulative *communitas* and coherent shared identities create the possibility, not the requirement, of those positive feelings. Both Naga Mas and the UHJGE demonstrate how powerful compromise is and that positive feelings can exist alongside negative ones. Additionally, it is perhaps easier to perceive and analyze gamelan affinity communities because gamelan is, by definition, a communal-based activity. This definition, and the multiple dimensions associated with it (see Chapter 7), could also apply to other, solo-based musicians if they establish a shared identity through the creation of coherence system(s). In doing so, I wish to problematize how we, as ethnomusicologists and scholars of music and culture, *conceptualize* the term affinity; I am not problematizing the term affinity itself. At this time, I do not feel it is

necessary to "[cast] about for nominal alternatives" to affinity. It is more beneficial to "redefine and deepen" our understanding of this term (Shelemay 2011).

Conclusions

In her dissertation (2002), Maria Mendonça's interlocutors appear to prioritize the idealization of gamelan—its utopian qualities and potentialities—and only *later* admit the less-than-ideal realities. Through an exploration of how community, as a concept, is capable of encompassing both positive and negative attributes, I have demonstrated that Naga Mas and UHJGE members actually do the opposite. In analyzing their priorities, their symbolic boundaries, including alternative ways they achieve communal belonging (i.e., cumulative *communitias*), and in the themes suggested by their own perceptions of community, both groups acknowledge their messy, sometimes frustrating, realities *before* explaining how they recognize hopeful and enduring potentials. This suggests a greater acknowledgement of the role negativity plays in community and refutes the notion that community is always already positive.

Naga Mas' and the UHJGE's scenarios and interpretations additionally exemplify the potential of affinity as a descriptor for their communities. As Slobin and Shelemay posit, these *are* groups of people joined by volition and desire. As I here—and later—establish, however, affinity is more nuanced than mere "charmed circles of like-minded music makers" (Slobin 2000, 98). As affinity communities, Naga Mas and the UHJGE are not peaceful bastions of agreement and compliance but rather catalysts for creation, connection, conflict, and change.

The following chapters present in greater detail the possibilities of affinity communities, and Chapter 4 begins with the life stories and created coherences that bind these communities together.

CHAPTER 4 "I never left the room:" Gamelan Life Stories

Introduction

During a break in the UH Javanese Gamelan Ensemble's dress rehearsal for Hardja Susilo's memorial concert in the spring of 2015, I asked retired ethnomusicologist Roger Vetter why he started playing gamelan. Knowing his long connection to the gamelan in Hawai'i, his scholarship on Javanese gamelan, and his leadership of the gamelan program at Grinnell College in Iowa, I was quite interested in his response. Assuming the air of one relating an oft-told tale, Vetter said, "I joined the gamelan because I wanted something that conflicted with marching band. I didn't want to be in marching band" (p.c. Roger Vetter 4/18/15).

This innocuously humorous statement was soon followed by a deeply moving tale of a young, reserved undergraduate music major who found friends, family, purpose, and career, in part, because of gamelan. The more stories I heard about gamelan, the more I came to realize how relevant these stories are to understanding gamelan in people's lives. Despite, or perhaps because of, initial flippancy, subsequent information revealed a plethora of reasons for preliminary and continued involvement in gamelan that tied it to personal values. The more stories and gamelan I experienced, the more I recognized that these individual stories not only reveal the values of their protagonists but also the values that are presented by and that which sustain the communities.

Observing Vetter's behavior during rehearsals (he easily fell into the role of gamelan member despite an absence of several years, playing various instruments including drum for several pieces), it became clear that it is not only through *verbal* stories that values are expressed

and transmitted. We may also view behavior (acceptable or not) as stories told by the communities, and we may ask what these stories tell us about the cohesion of each community.

This chapter explores various stories told by members of the UHJGE and Naga Mas in order to understand how individuals and communities create coherence and meaning in and through gamelan. I categorize these tales as life stories, or those told in order to explain something about the teller (Linde 1993; McAdams 1995). Drawing on the priorities established in Chapter 3 and coherence principles (Linde 1993) such as accident, (dis)continuity, curiosity, opportunity, connection, music, personality, obligation, and occupation, I examine the ways life stories are told in order to explain the multiple and complex reasons people give for joining and maintaining community gamelan groups outside of Indonesia. Looking further at stories told through embodied behavior such as dressing, teaching, and learning, I show how the communities enact their past and express current values in ways that create a sense of continuity and coherence. This work further problematizes the idea of affinity communities as "charmed circles of like-minded music-makers" (Slobin) by revealing the complex, myriad, and contradictory ways people have of engaging with and performing gamelan.[1]

The Utility of Life Stories

One way of discovering both what symbolic boundaries (see Chapter 3) are and how people interpret them is to listen to the stories they tell about their involvement in the community. These stories demonstrate that the nature of affinity communities is not homogenous. Each member's interpretations, opinions, values, assumptions, etc. contribute to the overarching realities of affinity. I additionally examine embodied behavior as stories which also function as the performance of values (Taylor 2003). The performance of various behaviors

works to bridge the gap between individual outlooks and community coherence as it is the behaviors that are more consistently passed on to subsequent generations of gamelan participants. I include Naga Mas' and the UHJGE's teaching styles, forms of dressing, and music as examples of embodied life stories;[2] those told through actions and musical communication as well as words.

Vetter's life story has direct bearing on 1) his involvement in gamelan, 2) the purposes gamelan fulfilled/fulfills in his life, and 3) his inclusion of other culture's beliefs into his personal and communal frameworks. By analyzing individuals' stories about the circumstances under which they initially joined a gamelan group, we can gain insight on how people make connections between a completely new musical experience and their (musical) lives up to that point.

Framing my interlocutors' experiences of gamelan as life stories also addresses the issue of native speakers. Members of both community groups couch their knowledge of Javanese gamelan in how they were taught. When they begin to describe their *own* experiences of joining, performing, composing/devising, dressing, and learning, however, they become native speakers. And it is through their life stories—verbal and behavioral—that they both evidence their own authority and agency and engage with that of the Other. Life stories consequently allow ethnomusicologists to explore how non-Native practitioners—outsiders who are also insiders—make gamelan outside of Indonesia make sense. As a narrative category, life stories are useful for ethnomusicological work because they allow interlocutors to control how their experiences are framed, and they show ethnomusicologists what and how values are perpetuated in affinity communities.

The following sections analyze both verbal and behavioral life stories told by members of Naga Mas and the UHJGE. I explain the use of various coherence principles (see Chapter 1, pg. 21) and show how these function to connect gamelan to each individuals' life in ways that suggest continuity. I then look at behavioral life stories to see how (repeated) actions reinforce communal identity.

Hearing, Telling, and Writing Life Stories

In converting my interlocutors' life stories from an oral to a written medium, I have attempted a balance wherein I have left each life story as raw and untouched as possible such that my interlocutors' accents, voices, and meanings are present. Where editing was done, it consists of using ellipses to indicate pauses. I have also removed repetition—unless my interlocutor was reinforcing something—as well as some verbal stuttering[3] in order to make these written life stories a bit more readable.

Like Linde, I also began with direct questions but being part of the ethnographic experiences revealed life stories told in ways other than those outlined by Linde; as part of a larger conversation or through behavior, actions, and feelings, and the music itself. Separating these life stories into discrete categories proved challenging because of their interrelatedness. I have loosely grouped them by each story's coherence principle, or the unifying factor in what the individual is trying to explain and how they explain it.

Initial Involvement Stories and the Management of Accident

Accident is one of the main coherence principles Linde identifies in the management of causality. "The strategy [used by the story teller] is to show that although a particular route to a

goal may seem accidental, there were in fact many routes to that same goal, and hence the accidental nature of the particular route taken does not mean that the speaker's life is truly accidental and without pattern" (1993, 146). Life stories result from a need to create stability and demonstrate control, even as the life stories themselves change over time.

This coherence principle was helpful in initially analyzing several of the life stories told by members of both the UHJGE and Naga Mas, particularly those stories elicited in response to the questions, "What got you started in the Javanese gamelan?" and "Why have you stayed in the group?"

Byron Moon first took the UHM Javanese gamelan class in 1971. When asked about his initial involvement with the gamelan, Moon related the following:

> Oh well, that was kind of an accident. That would have been in, sometime in the early '70s. I'm trying to back track now, mentally. It must have been in the spring of '70? Or somewhere around there. '71? Where, actually I was a music student before my gamelan experience, and there was one evening where I'd gone home from school, and then I thought, 'Oh, maybe I'll just come up to the practice rooms and, you know, play on a piano.' Turned out I hadn't checked the calendar, what was going on, and I walked into the department, and there was a gamelan concert in progress. I guess it'd just started, and they were performing in room 36 with the sliding doors open, so I was like, 'Well, this is something different!' So I just stayed there and listened to that and . . . I think I talked to Pak Sus, or went up after the concert or at intermission and just said, you know, kind of like, 'Wow! What is this stuff?' and he kind of said, 'Well you should take the class next semester.' And so the next semester, I signed up. The rest is . . . then I kind of never left the room. So it was just kind of by accident. Well actually, yeah and so, actually it's not, it wasn't completely a surprise in a way because I remember I took Music 107. That was actually before I saw that concert, now that I think of it. And it was supposed to be Ric Trimillos teaching it, but the guy who was there in the first day of class said, 'Well, I'm not Dr. Trimillos. And Dr. Trimillos will be coming in another week or two,' and then later he showed up and taught the class. But where he was, at that point, was coming back from Indonesia having done some of the bargaining with whoever was selling the gamelan, to get it. So I kind of knew there was some connection but didn't put all the pieces together. So that's how.[4] (p.c. 4/29/15)

While there are several coherence principles at work in Moon's story, I will begin with his use of accident as a management tool. What he says is as important as how he says it. First,

he verbally identifies his initial discovery of the gamelan as an "accident," using that exact term twice. The picture he paints is one of chance: he decided on a whim (he did not indicate that his desire to return to the music department involved upholding obligations to other people or fulfilling requirements for a particular class) to return to the music building on that particular day at that particular time, and as a result, he "never left the [gamelan] room." However, as Linde's explanation of accident suggests, Moon was not content to leave his involvement in gamelan to pure chance. He modified his story—"Well actually, yeah and so, actually it's not, it wasn't completely a surprise in a way"—to indicate that he had had prior knowledge of the gamelan's arrival at UHM. Though possibly realized only in the moment of explanation, this addendum, which creates a sense of continuity, allows Moon to simultaneously attribute his involvement to chance and to combat the implication that he is not in control of his destiny.

Other gamelan members, of both the UHJGJE and Naga Mas, used variations of this same strategy. For example, when asked the same questions regarding his initial and continued involvement, R. Anderson Sutton explained that he had not intended to study gamelan specifically but was actually interested in South Asian music:

> But I think it was partly, I mean I tell, I think this is really true. That I was a teaching, I came as a graduate teaching assistant, and my teaching schedule was such that I could not take any of the Indian languages they offered here. Couldn't take, I think they offered Tamil or Telegu, one of the South Asian, South Indian languages, and they also offered Sanskrit, but course conflict. And my other interest was Indonesia so I looked at, Indonesian was also a course conflict. Javanese was not a course conflict, so I think Professor Barbara Smith and I decided that would be a way to go. I had no idea that this was quite rare [for] an American university to offer Javanese, so I took beginning Javanese and then the energy that Susilo was putting into gamelan and the enthusiasm that other people had for it. It was clearly part of the curriculum here, [and] that kind of made me move in that direction.
>
> The other was that at that time I think there was hardly anyone writing about gamelan music. There were not a lot of scholars. There was old, you know Jaap Kunst, who had died, and Mantle Hood, and then Judith Becker was, she'd just finished her d- . . . she was nearing completion on her dissertation at that time. But for Indian music, there were

> a lot of people who were writing about Indian music. It was much more prominent as an area of focus in ethnomusicology, so I thought Indonesia would be more of a growth area. So yeah, so I think by the end of my first semester, already into Javanese, already taking gamelan. Um, you know my path, I didn't think about 'Oh maybe I should go back and do India.'
>
> But then, I mean things fell into place, right? I got, after here going for my masters, I went PhD at Michigan and I was, you know I got a teaching assistantship doing the gamelan, and I enjoyed teaching gamelan. Fortunately Susilo, early on, had taught me drumming. Without that, it'd be, you know, hard to lead a group. But Byron and I co-taught the gamelan summer of '75 when Susilo and Roger and a number of people who were still playing were in Indonesia that summer . . . But, you know, the people who hadn't gone on the trip, Byron and I kind of ran an informal group. And I think, Byron was a very good *bonang* player and all of that, but I think hadn't started drum at that point so I was able to drum. And by then I'd already, well after my '73 trip, I got an East West Center grant and was back for a whole year in Yogya, and I studied drumming amongst other things at that time, so . . . And then after I finished, well, while I was there in '74 I bought a gamelan. And that's a pretty major commitment, saying, 'Yeah, I want to really do this,' thinking it would help when I got on the job market. And of course when I got on the job market, I got hired at a place that already *had* a gamelan [chuckles] Wisconsin . . .
>
> So I think the combination, you know it was partially *luck*, right, that there was a Java place that was already committed to gamelan primarily because the set was purchased there originally by Lois Anderson who had been a student of, I guess she learned under Sus at UCLA and then she thought that it would be a good thing to get the program going. So as soon as she got it, she was teaching it but her, you know she's, you know she could drum simple pieces and teach the loud style but then Roger Vetter went there for his PhD and by that time Sus had already taught him quite a bit of drumming and so he was, you know, quite capable of leading a group. And Val being there with him added the dance component so, then when they went off to do fieldwork in, what '81, '82, suddenly Wisconsin didn't have anyone to teach gamelan. So I was invited to come, just for a semester as a lecturer, and then a job opened up and I got the job. So multiple lucky steps that sort of laid the way. (p.c. 4/20/15; emphasis in original)

Instead of using "accident," here, Sutton uses "luck" to describe his initial and continued involvement in gamelan. At first, Sutton seems to indicate a lack of agency (i.e., no control over either his teaching schedule or the scheduled times for language classes). This lack of agency begins to morph into agency, however, as Sutton recounts his ability to lead a gamelan class, his East-West Center grant which facilitated further time and study in Java, and his decision to purchase a set of gamelan instruments to make himself more marketable. He ultimately returns to

luck, however, citing the presence of a Javanese gamelan set at the University of Wisconsin Madison (UWM), his colleague's departure for fieldwork, and the serendipitous opening of a tenure track position during his time at UWM. While perhaps more subtle than Moon's, Sutton's manipulation of the accident strategy also allows him to both credit luck/accident and identify his own initiative.

Another gamelan member, this time of Naga Mas, also utilizes accident as a coherence principle. When I initially asked J. Simon van der Walt how he started playing with the group, he responded:

> I was told to start playing gamelan, is the story. My partner, Margaret, had started playing gamelan pretty much, we moved through to Glasgow around about—I don't know, I'm very, very bad at dates—1996, 1997, something like that. We moved through to Glasgow for Margaret to do the BA in applied music at Strathclyde. And she was doing the Community Music strand and through some connection, she found out about the gamelan group that was running in Glasgow at that time. And she joined the gamelan group, and then the gamelan group used to have parties at Maryann's house, and Maryann had borrowed a small gamelan set from, she was looking after another gamelan set for someone else. So I went along to one of these parties, just as someone who's in a party, and was persuaded to sit down and play something. And I always, I was then told I was in the group. You know, I was told, if you sit then you're in the group. So I was told to be in the gamelan group, it *feels* like. So then I just started going to the gamelan group regularly, and I guess I've been doing it ever since. So, *why* I think is because it was there, and it was available. But I do also think back to many, many years before that, when I was, when I'd dropped out of university, and I was on the dole playing trumpet in reggae bands. And I remember there was an occasion, where gamelan was something you knew about. Because I was a composer, I was a curious musician interested in lots of different kinds of music, so obviously gamelan was something that one had read about, but unlike today, you know today's YouTube mp3s where it would be so accessible just to go and find out, there was *no*, and I saw I think in the Edinburgh Festival, a Balinese gamelan and I'm like, 'That's that thing! That's that thing I've read about.' And I went to the performance, and I remember being slightly disappointed by it because I expected all these bronze instruments and it was actually, um I can't remember what kind of ensemble it was exactly but it was bamboo instead of bronze and I remember being a bit disappointed. And there was too much dancing in it. I wasn't there for the dancing. They had a troupe of dancers, I wasn't there for the dance. It was the music I was interested in. But *way* back then, I suppose it was something that one had heard about as being one of these really interesting musical things, so I guess the idea of it was always interesting to me, and then it came along. (p.c. 12/1/14; emphasis in original)

While not using a specific term (i.e., accident or luck), van der Walt nevertheless attributes his initial involvement in gamelan to outside forces, namely his partner, Margaret Smith, and to the gamelan group's arbitrary adoption policy regarding new members. His insistence that he "was told to be in the gamelan" (said twice) and his emphasis on "it *feels* like," underlines both an apparent lack of agency and ability to be easily swayed. Like Moon, however, van der Walt also contextualizes his story to include previous knowledge of gamelan; his emphasis in the phrase "*way* back then" indicates the significant reach of the connection. He reveals that gamelan was something he knew about because of his own musical curiosity; therefore, it was not so strange for him to join a gamelan group when the opportunity presented itself because gamelan was something that had already been part of his musical consciousness.

Everyone I spoke to, in one way or another, included some form of accident management in their discussion of how and why they joined gamelan. One member of Naga Mas explained that she attended her first gamelan workshop as a teenager at the behest of her mother, who thought it would be a good family activity. Another member of Naga Mas was told about the group by a friend of a friend who knew of her interest in different kinds of music. One member of the UHJGE was encouraged to join the group because of his involvement in other forms of Asian music. Very few offered a totally unqualified answer of accident or luck, however.

From these life stories, it becomes clear that, while serendipity may play a part in individuals' involvement with gamelan, isolated desire is not enough and random chance is not acceptable to explain causality. In various ways—some subtle, some obvious—people connected their initial involvement with gamelan to other aspects of their lives in ways that did not leave it completely up to chance.

Initial Involvement Stories and the Management of (Dis)Continuity

Related to accident, (dis)continuity is another way to manage continuity between seemingly disparate events, actions, or beliefs (Linde 1993). The following life stories were also told in response to the questions, "What got you started in the Javanese gamelan?" and "Why have you stayed in the group?" Unlike those mentioned above, these storytellers utilize slightly different strategies to explain their initial involvement.

Bill Remus, a retired engineer, manager, and professor, joined the UHJGE as part of the second wave of long-time members in 1990. He relates:

> Well I've always loved music. And I grew up in the Chicago area and in the time of acoustic blues and acoustic jazz. And I love acoustic blues and acoustic jazz [though] I'd always been too busy to do anything with music all through my undergraduate program, my electrical engineering career, my management career, and going back to the doctoral program, but when I came out *here*, I wanted to do something with music and it didn't take me very long to find out that there's nothing you can do that, I mean there's no market for blues, there's almost no market for jazz and I'd have to learn, and no teachers that could teach me competently. I had some basic skills but I, you know, I really, anyway so I was, ok, that's what happened. Some years later, so this has to be, has to be '78 . . . but I went looking for a Fulbright. . . [T]hey have the Fulbright for faculty also. So I ended up teaching at the University Kebangsaan in Malaysia, and that's where I fell in love with gamelan . . . So that's where I met the gamelan was in Southeast Asia, and I thought it was really great. And I attended some concerts up here, this'd be '89, and one concert in the spring, no no, '79, and one concert in the spring of '80, the, it was raining, raining everywhere, I mean there's no possibility of sitting out in the open, and they weren't about to take the gamelan up to the Orvis Auditorium because it was raining, right? So Susilo said, 'Come on in, everybody.' And we all sat in the, inside while the music was being played. Now it scared off a lot of people, so it wasn't like a whole audience of three hundred, maybe down to fifty people. And it was so different being in the middle of the music, rather than it . . . it was so much more beautiful than it was just being at a distance. And then that festival of Indonesia summer, Sus taught Javanese gamelan as a summer course, and so that's where I took the course, during the festival of Indonesia year. So that was . . . twenty-five years ago. That's how I got interested.
>
> And then it just became a pleasant side of things that I like to do and enjoy being with. Particularly in the early years. Now we're all kind of cranky and old, but in the early years people weren't so cranky and there were a lot of interesting people that we've lost to other places . . . And so that's how I got involved. And so it was always just on the side, while I was doing my professor stuff. And I became interested, I also, in the same

> period, because of the Fulbright, I became very interested in Southeast Asia, so it was consistent with my other interests in Southeast Asia. (p.c. 4/16/15)

In managing (dis)continuity, the onus is on the storyteller to explain how what seems to be a disconnected series of events actually makes sense when viewed from the inside. Remus' life story is a good example of this. He answered my initial question regarding Javanese gamelan with a professed, long-time love of acoustic jazz and blues. He was then obligated to rationalize this apparent discrepancy. He does this by linking the lack of learning opportunities for blues and jazz in Hawai‘i to his Fulbright in Malaysia, where he "discovered" gamelan, to his experiences with gamelan at UHM. These activities span over a decade, but Remus condenses and closely relates them to each other, returning at the end of his story to insist upon the consistency of his interests, showing that what seems like a discontinuity between his early interest in blues and jazz and his 27-year dedication to gamelan is, in fact, a continuation of his initial love of music and his lasting interest in Southeast Asia.

Another member of the UHJGE, Thelma Diercks,[5] deftly and poignantly manages (dis)continuity. Like Remus, she also connects her interest in gamelan to involvement with and love for another type of music:

> It's a rather long story connected to my former life. I had a very wonderful career as a pianist and piano teacher. And I had a wonderful partner, and we played two pianos together many places and with the symphony and so forth. Well, when my husband got ready to retire, we knew we didn't want to live in Roanoke, VA where it snowed. So we said, we thought about it, and we decided we wanted to go somewhere where it didn't snow and in addition to my music degree, I have a library degree, so I began to look for library jobs on the west coast. And interviewed in California and then interviewed with someone from Hawai‘i when I was at a library meeting, and she said 'We might not have something right now, but we might soon.' And it turned out. I mean I came out, got a library job, and moved out here and in that time, I had experienced a library meeting in Oxford, England and went to a museum where they had a gamelan, you know just set out, it wasn't playing. And had a chance to hear the sound and it was very interesting. I got interested then. And when I heard there was a gamelan in Hawai‘i, I just focused on that because I wanted to get as far away from piano music as I could. Because at the time it was a little bit painful, so I started by taking Pak Sus' class and he said 'Yeah, you can

> come in,' and almost right away I started playing with them. One piece, at the East-West Center. That's how I got started. It was just the perfect musical experience that wasn't piano. (p.c. 5/1/15)

I include Diercks' story at the end of this section to demonstrate a characteristic that is present in all the life stories examined above and that will be explored further in the following sections: the ability of life stories to draw on more than one coherence principle. Diercks uses elements of both (dis)continuity and accident in her life story. She begins with (dis)continuity. Unlike Remus, Diercks acknowledges the disconnect between her life as a pianist and her life as a gamelan player as something she consciously desired. Therein lies the hidden continuity. Like Moon and van der Walt, however, she also connects her discovery of gamelan in Hawai‘i with previous knowledge of the ensemble garnered through her work as a librarian. This is further supported in a subsequent comment, where Diercks notes that while gamelan may have been a fortuitous alternative to piano, she was not the first non-Indonesian practitioner to feel a connection to it: "And there were Westerners, Western musicians who found the same fascination [as me], Colin McPhee among other people. I'd read his book, and so forth. And living in California, I came across [Lou Harrison]" (ibid). This further contextualization aligns her interests with those of McPhee and Harrison, two major figures in gamelan in the West. Thus, while the majority of Diercks' story relies on intended discontinuity, she also chose to include the part of accident management that relies on connections to previous experiences.

These life stories further the supposition that individuals require both continuity and agency in order to achieve stability (McAdams 1988; Linde 1993). Like accident management, these life stories also suggest that members of affinity communities draw specific connections between, in this case, gamelan and other aspects of their lives. While joining a community gamelan group is not a monumental upheaval, it still represents a break or change in the lives of

non-Indonesians that must then be explained. One way to address the explanation is to manage the discontinuity in ways that either reveal obscured connections (Remus) or acknowledge the advantage of discontinuity itself (Diercks).

Other Coherence Principles: Curiosity, Opportunity, Connection/Interaction, and Exoticism

One major shortcoming of Linde's work is the limitation of coherence principles to accident and (dis)continuity.[6] In looking at the handful of examples above, however, it becomes clear that individuals may employ several different coherence principles in the course of a single life story. I would like to turn to other aspects of life stories, found in those included above and others, in order to suggest additional coherence principles used by community gamelan members to explain their involvement.

Curiosity is a thread that runs through almost all the life stories of the UHJGE and Naga Mas members. Moon's excited, "Wow! What is this stuff?" handily expresses the sentiment fielded by van der Walt as a curious musician who was disappointed that the Edinburgh Festival's gamelan offering did not focus more on the music. Both Remus and Diercks expressed curiosity not only in the music itself but also where it originated. Naga Mas member Neil Wells identifies curiosity as one defining quality of all gamelan players: "I think it's, you know, pretty common thing among people who are involved with gamelan is that they do tend to have a, a desire to seek out things, kind of musical forms which are, which you can't perhaps immediately parse and which are kind of unfamiliar to some, you know, to some degree" (p.c. Neil Wells 9/22/15).

Many gamelan members also identified connections between gamelan and other types of music. Naga Mas member Jena Thomson noted that her discussion of mixed media improvisation and experimental composition with a friend-of-a-friend elicited a Facebook message with information on the gamelan and the note, "I think you might be interested in this." Van der Walt explained several similarities between gamelan and jazz (see Chapter 5 and below) which are extremely relevant to his life as a jazz musician and composer. Wells commented that "what drew me to [gamelan] really is, well yeah, I think initially I became aware of it through my interest in kind of minimalist [music]" (p.c. Neil Wells 9/22/15). UHJGE member Amit Chaturvedi noted his attraction to gamelan music "as opposed to other kinds of music" by explaining that he "grew up listening to a lot of rap and reggae and funk and stuff like that. So somehow I'm drawn, if I had to put a reason to it, drawn to repetitive, yeah I need a bass line. I can't listen to music that doesn't have a good bass line, looping bass line. So gamelan works that way for me" (p.c. Amit Chaturvedi 4/14/15). True to her use of (dis)continuity, Diercks connected Western piano playing with gamelan by noticing their differences and the change in focus gamelan playing encouraged:

> It took a reorganization of approach. I remember one of my first reactions because I always thought *saron* had the main part, I mean, it had the *balungan*. And I'd say to myself, 'Why are they playing so loudly? I have the important part!' And of course you know that changed: 'No, you don't.' It was pretty silly. But it was that the organization and what was considered beautiful in Javanese music was not necessarily, had any relationship at all to Western piano music or even orchestral music. (p.c. Thelma Diercks 5/1/15)

Naga Mas member Gordon MacKinnon's initial involvement life story made use of both connection and curiosity, as he related:

> Funny this one, cuz it was actually through my favorite band, The Residents, who are based in San Francisco, and I think have played with Gamelan *Sekar Jaya* . . . And they written a lot, they'd worked with them as part of some live shows. And always in liner notes, even prior to that, I'd seen compositions for gamelan or one LP was described as a

> ‘deranged LSD trip on mechanical gamelan.’ It was like a fairground ride or something. It was based on a merry-go-round, like a madman’s gamelan or something. [So I thought] ‘What is this word?’ So yeah, that’s how I discovered what gamelan was which is completely bizarre rather than going straight. I was always interested in world music, and I just don’t think I’d ever noted it in that sphere. Cuz I’ve got a huge world music record collection . . . And so yeah, then when I saw in the West End Festival program ‘gamelan’ being performed, I thought, ‘Right, I’ll have to go to that.’ (p.c. Gordon MacKinnon 11/24/14)

It is worthwhile to note the similarities and differences in van der Walt’s and MacKinnon’s life stories. Both connect gamelan to other areas of music that they have experience in—for van der Walt, it is jazz which he began playing as a professional musician in the 1980s, and for MacKinnon, it is a multimedia band that appeals to his own genre-defying aesthetic. They both have experience with world music—van der Walt teaches courses on the subject at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland (RCS) while MacKinnon uses his collection as a DJ. For both, their initial interaction with gamelan in Scotland was through local festivals, although van der Walt witnessed a performance by a visiting group and MacKinnon saw Naga Mas perform. They also both connect gamelan to a kind of intrinsic curiosity. Neither were first informed about gamelan through a class or workshop. Rather their general interest in music led them to gamelan. It is interesting to note that while van der Walt calls gamelan “obviously . . . something that one had read about,” MacKinnon relates his experience as being primarily aural, suggesting that gamelan exists in numerous arenas. This allows for people to make multiple kinds of connections to gamelan in ways that facilitate coherence.

Sumarsam points to opportunity and interaction, which occur on different levels, as “key to the gamelan journey, experience, and learning” (in Solís 2004, 87-88). Gamelan members in Naga Mas and the UHJGE also employed opportunity and connection as coherence principles in their life stories. Van der Walt noted that part of why he joined the gamelan was “because it was there, and it was available” (p.c. J. Simon van der Walt 12/1/14). Opportunity may be tied to

accident in this sense: for some gamelan members, the opportunity arose, seemingly by accident, and they took advantage of it. As evidenced by their management of accident as a coherence principle, however, the story did not end with fate. Rather van der Walt, and others, identified various interactions that resulted from this opportunity, some of which were musical and compositional which will be analyzed further in the following chapter.

From these life stories, we can further extrapolate the roles that curiosity and difference play in attracting people to gamelan. Bruno Deschênes writes that "The attraction non-Western music has on Westerners appears to be mainly attributed to its exotic nature" (2012, 71). At the same time, several people attempted to mitigate that difference by connecting gamelan to something familiar—jazz, funk, reggae, and experimental, alternative, and minimalistic music. This seems to suggest that even as exoticism is attractive, in order to make sense of that initial attraction, affinity community members also make connections between the familiar and the Other. Even in Diercks' case, where her intention to leave piano behind was what made the Other so desirable, she connected gamelan to piano by explaining their differences.

This raises questions regarding the nature and attraction of the exotic. Is the above normalization an attempt to make exoticism less apparent? On one hand, no, as both groups acknowledge the utility of the exotic. Sutton noted that, for people interested in gamelan, Susilo's Javaneseness may have been an attraction (p.c. R. Anderson Sutton 4/20/15). Many people in Naga Mas commented that the different sights and sounds of the gamelan are good for recruitment and stimulating interest. On the other hand, both groups work very hard to treat difference with respect and to perpetuate that respect through continued/restored behavior. Thus I feel this normalization is a way to take the malice out of exoticism, to show that something can be both different and normal. Gamelan and gamelan culture can be attractive both for its

difference and for the connections individuals can draw between it and their own beliefs and values.

Continued Involvement Stories: Music, Personality, Obligation, and Occupation

So far, I have focused solely on the stories people told to explain their initial involvement in gamelan community groups. Also of interest are the stories people tell to explain their continued involvement. Here, coherence principles like accident and (dis)continuity are less applicable. And while individuals may continue to renew their curiosity and connections, those shared as part of the initial stories may not prove sufficient to maintain commitment. Conversely, some aspects or conditions of the principles, like the music or the exotic, remain.

Moon's story, for example, and his management of causality became more nuanced as he added his reasons for why he has stayed in the group for several decades: "Of course, you know, Pak Sus is very charming and charismatic and all that . . . The music, to me, was something I'd never heard before. I have some Western music background, but this was just a whole different way of listening to music and thinking about it and plus there was the whole undergraduate social . . . the very social atmosphere in gamelan as well, so when you combine all those things, it's kind of hard not to keep coming back" (p.c. 4/28/15).

There are several coherence principles that we may draw from this short story: 1) Susilo's personality; 2) the different—some may say, exotic—nature of gamelan music; and 3) the social aspect of the gamelan community. Many other UHJGE members applied these coherence principles when explaining their continued commitment to gamelan. Diercks, for example, agrees wholeheartedly with Moon's assessment of the music. In response to the question of whether there is anything in particular that has kept her in the gamelan, she enthusiastically

replied, “I loved the sound. It was new and . . . it was a different way of organizing music that was kind of something amazing” (p.c. Thelma Diercks 5/1/15). Roger Vetter used almost the exact same three principles as Moon when explaining what kept him involved with gamelan: it was “the charm of Susilo . . . [a] combination of Sus’ personality, a sort of instant community that was very exciting and vibrant, totally different from the marching band” as well as a “self-driven” imperative to make sense of gamelan music (p.c. Roger Vetter 4/18/15). Sutton similarly noted the energy and inspiration that Susilo imbued to gamelan in Hawai‘i. Barbara Polk, a member of the second wave of long-time gamelan players, commented that she found the music pleasant to play, “And then of course, there’s Pak Sus, who was just such a charming person that he was a delight to be around. So I always enjoyed being there because of the things he would say and do” (p.c. Barbara Polk 4/23/15). Kay Kaufman Shellemay notes that one common characteristic of affinity communities is a charismatic leader who rallies people around him or her. The strength of Susilo’s presence has and does act as a cohering factor for the UHJGE.

Another second wave member, Daniel Tschudi, pointed to Susilo’s patience and dedication and also to the compact established between himself (as student) and Susilo (as teacher). Tschudi noted that sometimes, when feeling tired or stressed, he would consider skipping rehearsals. He rarely gave into that temptation because of the obligation to the group he feels was established through his relationship with Susilo. In return, “We have to commit to contributing what we know to the ensemble” (ibid). First wave member Pattie Dunn expressed a very similar sentiment when relating a conversation with her son following Susilo’s death (2015): “Mike [Dunn’s son] said . . . ‘Mom, you and Dad even said it, that sometimes you guys rehearsed, not because you wanted to be there, you’d like a little break, but the reason you guys

rehearsed was because Pak Sus wanted to rehearse. And he enjoyed coming, so you guys showed up'" (p.c. Pattie Dunn 4/22/15).

Dunn's story continues as she connects the ideology of *kampung* to her experiences of gamelan and commitment/obligation to Susilo. *Kampung* is often translated as "village," but it can also refer to a set of relationships and obligations that exist between people who live in close proximity to each other. *Kampung* is a word that has become part of Dunn's life stories:

> "Back in the '70s, Sus treated us more like family and a *kampung*" (p.c. 2/14/13)
>
> "Pak Sus created a *kampung* here and that for us, it's more like family than an ensemble. It's different" (p.c. 4/22/15)

She also describes connections between the gamelan group in Hawai'i and the larger world of gamelan as "…kind of like living in a big, world-wide *kampung*" (p.c. 4/29/15). Dunn attributes this familial closeness to Susilo's influence: "I think the way we've approached gamelan, because of Pak Sus' training, is we are a big family." She qualifies this by saying that she does not view the gamelan *kampung* as a "utopian community," but rather as one that "[has] disagreements. You might not like what somebody's doing, you're upset about the way they do stuff, but you're still family so you have to think in those terms. You have to think, make sure everyone's taken care of . . . We are a family *because* we always have these little disputes" (p.c. Pattie Dunn 4/29/15; emphasis in original). Though articulated differently, for Dunn and Tschudi, the obligation to Susilo becomes an obligation to the whole community group. The idea of gamelan as *kampung*/family has become part of how Dunn identifies herself and her role in the community gamelan group. Referencing the spring 2016 gamelan concert, Dunn posted the following on her Facebook page: "As usual, I had assumed the role of *Ibu* (mother) in making

sure all the women were dressed with their hair done in traditional fashion. Byron Moon, Pak Sus' successor, had the role of *Pak* (father) for the men."

Though coming from a completely different position, some members of Naga Mas nevertheless also utilize obligation as a coherence principle when explaining their continued interest in and commitment to gamelan. Neil Wells, for example, focuses on an external obligation to both Java and the people of Scotland rather than the internal obligations professed by members of the UHJGE:

> I think that, given our particular, given the origin of our particular set of instruments, in fact that they were gifted to the council and that they are civic property, you know, which we're custodians of, that we, as a result of that, and that we do have a duty as a result of that, to provide, you know because it's ultimately a public good, of which we're custodians . . . I think we do have a responsibility to try and provide access to the instruments and the cultural aspects of gamelan. (p.c. Neil Wells 9/22/15)

Wells couches obligation in the idea that the gamelan was a gift that subsequently belongs to the people of Glasgow. While the Strathclyde Regional Council, the Social Work Department, and the Scottish Chamber Orchestra intended the instruments to be used by the general public, they were in fact paid for with funds allocated during Glasgow's Year of Culture and subsequently belong to the Council (see Chapter 2). Wells' perception of the origin of Spirit of Hope reveals his own convictions regarding his and Naga Mas' responsibility to the public. His reiteration of "custodians" shows that, according to Wells, the instruments are not merely there for the benefit of Naga Mas. He ties this responsibility to the importance of learning, teaching, and presenting the structural elements of Javanese gamelan music because, while it is easy to get lost in the lush timbral qualities, the "music is obviously conceived and developed to be sympathetic and to work structurally with that set of instruments in a very, very deep and profound way" (ibid).

Like Pattie Dunn, van der Walt used a Javanese term to explain his obligation to both Naga Mas and the students and administration of the RCS:

> I'm the *tumbuk*![7] I'm the note that sits between the two gamelans. I'm the link between these two instruments. I'm the note six, because I'm both at the Conservatoire and I'm the gamelan guy here. So I'm . . . running workshops here, running classes here, talking about gamelan stuff here. And I'm also, obviously, the Treasurer of Naga Mas. So if there's going to be some sort of link between these two things at some point in the future, than it's probably going to be, I'm the person who sits between these two ensembles. (p.c. Simon van der Walt 12/1/14)

Van der Walt's seemingly frivolous story nonetheless reveals his perception of the relationship between his occupation and the gamelan group as well as his role as intermediary. As both Treasurer of Naga Mas and the RCS's "gamelan guy," he occupies a unique position, one that, if balanced correctly, will impact music students under his tutelage, the shape and focus of music pedagogy at the Conservatoire, as well as performance venues, visibility, and expansion opportunities for Naga Mas.

Other members of Naga Mas also connect their work with the gamelan to their occupation, both literally and philosophically. Community musician Margaret Smith has been hired by and received grants from various organizations to provide musical workshops for school children and participants with additional support needs (ASN). These workshops often involve gamelan instruments, music, pedagogy, etc. Likewise, Katherine Waumsely's work as a freelance community musician and as co-leader of Common Wheel's[8] music team often incorporates gamelan. Former members Signy Jakobsdottir and Jon Keliehor also included gamelan in their work as accompanists and composers. Smith and Waumsley place a great deal of emphasis on accessibility, support, and inclusion and use the gamelan in ways that facilitate this approach. Jakobsdottir and Keliehor tended to focus on building musical skills and creating depth of feeling and connection in the act of playing. While these two approaches were not

mutually exclusive by any means—Smith and Waumsely, for example, often include improvisation and group composition in their workshops and classes—the different philosophies involved have led to tensions in the group. For all four individuals, occupation and pedagogical philosophies are closely tied to their experience of gamelan even as these experiences differ from each other.

In this way, members of both gamelan communities use various additional coherence principles to explain their continued involvement in gamelan. Members of the UHJGE draw on desire to understand unfamiliar music, attraction to Susilo's charismatic personality, and a sense of obligation as strong coherence principles that have not only shaped their involvement in gamelan but also their identities. In several instances, these principles became intertwined as Tschudi, Dunn, and Vetter, for example, linked 1) Susilo's personality; 2) his skill as a musician, dancer, and teacher; and 3) the resulting obligation they felt to him and to the community group. Naga Mas draws on related but slightly different coherence principles. Having never had a single, long-term leader, they instead highlighted obligations to a wider public and connections between their occupations and gamelan as coherence principles used to explain both their continued involvement and tensions that led to some members leaving the group. These coherence principles stress the interconnectedness of gamelan and other parts of the members' lives.

Performing Life Stories

While the previous sections focused on how individual life stories are created using coherence principles conveyed through verbal explanation, this section continues this idea in life stories told through *petit comportments* (small behaviors) as well as *petit recits* (see Chapter 2).

While language philosopher J. L. Austin first associated performativity with language (1955, 1962, 1975), feminist theorist Judith Butler applied performativity to actions (1990). Performance theorist Diana Taylor's paradigms of scenario builds on the idea that individuals, in certain situations, will not only articulate a message but will also embody that message (2003). This embodiment is repeated or reenacted and in so being becomes part of the community's identity.

Life Stories Told through Behavior and Embodiment: Dressing and Comportment

In Chapter 1, I included a short anecdote regarding my experience dressing for one of the UHJGE's concerts and how this clothing affected my comportment (see pg. 4). Pattie Dunn's explanation for the restrictive clothing taught me—and others—about perceptions of Javanese female beauty. More than this, the act of dressing and of wearing the clothing taught us things, in ways that words never could, about the physicality of being a musician. Not a Javanese musician necessarily, although we were dressing like them as well as trying to listen and think like them,[9] but the appropriate physicality of a musician in the UH Javanese Gamelan Ensemble. These were life stories told through embodiment.

Embodiment is a thorny concept that may refer to several different but related things. It can indicate the reality that humans have physical bodies and their interaction with the world. It can signify the physical expression of values, social norms and expectations, and the ideal (Bakan 1999). It can be representative of both the self and the other, onstage and off. It can mean to make something that is intangible—music, dreams, nationalism, or memory—more tangible by fixing it in some medium: song, dance, photographs, recordings, or films. It can also denote

the role of the body in music making. Michelle Kisliuk calls embodiment "the commitment of bodies . . . to practice and presence on various levels" (2002, 105-07).

I draw on several of the above definitions of embodiment, particularly the notion that embodiment can refer to both physicality and representation. Here, I liken "perform" to Christopher Small's notion of musicking which involves all aspects of music-making, not just the (re)creation of the music itself (1998). Performance studies also offers useful foci. Erving Goffman defines performance as "*all the activity* of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers" (in Carlson 2004, 35; my emphasis). Kenneth Burke also advocated for considering the entirety of a performance, not just the performer (in Carlson 2004). Marvin Carlson discusses performance as a deliberate act which involves a kind of doubling of consciousness. This doubling is enacted bodily or manifested in some physical way to an audience, but it is important to note that the audience could be anyone, including one's students and fellow gamelan members. In helping me dress for performance, Pattie Dunn enabled this consciousness doubling: I was aware of myself and of the self I projected through my clothing.[10] This projected self was only possible because of the clothing, but the performativity of dressing with the other women, of going through this ritual, connects every performance to Pattie's early experiences in Java. It creates a sense of continuity and allows her the opportunity to perpetuate the physicality of performance.

For both UHJGE and Naga Mas members, dressing involves the performance of values. Thus, performing gamelan includes not only playing gamelan music, but also everything else enacted and embodied by each gamelan community; when dressing for performance or when

leading workshops, these members are performing gamelan.[11] This performance and embodiment may also be interpreted as life stories and analyzed in terms of coherence.[12]

Wearing full Javanese formal dress brings to light issues of play as involving "ethno-drag" (Avril 2004; Harnish 2004; Mendonça 2002; Matsue 2016). These issues are addressed and mitigated through embodied lessons learned and stories told through dressing and being dressed. Javanese clothing has always been part of the UHJGE's presentation of gamelan, both to themselves and to their audience. Many long-time members shared fond memories of sewing costumes for performances and buying material for *kains* (long pieces of fabric used as skirts or sarongs) and *kabayas* (blouses) in Java. They are quick to identify the difference between wearing costumes to depict a certain character during a performance of the *Ramayana* and wearing formal clothing for an *uyon-uyon*[13] performance. As Moon explains:

> I kind of wanted to make it be more like a, this is not some mystical special, in the same way if we had some Indonesian kid coming here to play, sing in the choir or play in the band, and you have to wear a tux, you know? It's just clothes, and here's how you put them on neatly. That's it. It's not like some holy, holy thing. It's just a tuxedo. You know, it's just a *kain* and *kabaya*. Make it feel like it's special, but it's normal. I really avoid using the word 'costume.' We're just wearing clothes from another culture. When you're at that level, it feels a little more natural. (p.c. Byron Moon 4/28/15)

This ideology provides wider contextualization for Jennifer Matsue's comment that "students in North America often gravitate to world music ensembles, whether South Asian dance, *gamelan*, *taiko*, African drumming, etc., because of the exotic clothing, decorations of the stage—the opportunity to play dress-up in another culture's costume. Like moths to a bright light, they come to play with markers of cultural identity in ethno-drag" (Matsue 2016, 55; italics in original). Here, "play" is used in a more pejorative manner, implying that those students who "play dress-up" are acting like thoughtless children who are only attracted to the bright and shiny. As with the management of accident discussed above, Moon's comments and Pattie

Dunn's explanations (Chapter 1) may be taken as further examples of normalization and an attempt to take the malice, and perhaps the ignorance, out of exoticism. While there is, and should be, a justifiable concern that participating in ethno-drag will stereotype and/or marginalize non-Western peoples, it is unclear whether these factors are inherent in the term itself. Harnish's and Avril's chapters in *Performing Ethnomusicology* (2004) seem to indicate that this is something of a gray area.

Regardless, the negativity implied by ethno-drag is not applicable to—or at least complicated by—the UHJGE and Naga Mas. For most long-time members of the UHJGE, dressing for the concert means putting on their own clothes that they had made for them in Java or indeed that they made themselves. For singer Nancy Cooper, her headpiece is augmented by a *konde*, a fake bun, made of her own hair. She explained to me that on one trip to Java, she had her hair cut and then fashioned into a bun that she still wears for performance. For Pattie Dunn and Moon, dressing happens in two ways: 1) dressing themselves and 2) dressing others. In both instances, how they dress themselves and other people tells a story that works to explain the continuity of the UHJGE and the discontinuity of non-Javanese people wearing Javanese clothing. When dressing others, Dunn and Moon are embodying leadership as representatives of Javanese culture, the *Ibu* and *Bapak* to be emulated through dress and comportment (i.e., Pattie's assertion: "Don't walk like a linebacker!" and Moon's admonition before the 2017 Aloha Pak Sus concert: "Don't smile"). In dressing themselves, they are embodying themselves by putting on their own clothing—and in Cooper's case, her own hair. They are also embodying certain values of the group, as dressing "properly for and [observing] the traditions surrounding gamelan" (p.c. Pattie Dunn 4/18/16) are part of Susilo's own ideas regarding what is appropriate for the gamelan members. These life stories, told through embodiment, create and acknowledge

continuity within the ensemble: it is something that was taught to them by Susilo in the past and is always done; it has become normalized as part of their performance of gamelan as well as a part of who the dressers are. They are not becoming someone else when they dress; they are not committing themselves to existing "*only in representation*, a condition of which Sartre calls nothingness or bad faith" (Carlson 2004, 39-40; my emphasis). Rather, as indicative of Schechner's restored behavior (Chapter 3), they are expressing different facets of their own complex identities.

Members of Naga Mas tell different life stories through embodiment and dressing. Naga Mas members are keenly aware of their positionality as representatives of Javanese culture in Scotland and as such, approach "dressing up" in Javanese traditional clothing with some hesitation.[14] While Margaret Smith notes that several members might like to wear Javanese clothing—mostly because of its beauty and foreignness—there are practical reasons for the group's disinclination to dress this way. One is a limited number of *kains* and a lack of funds to purchase more. Another has to do with the venues Naga Mas plays,[15] none of which, in the eyes of the gamelan members, warrant formal dress. Yet another is connected to the music they perform. When playing a concert of all traditional Javanese gamelan music, formal Javanese clothing may be appropriate. Most of Naga Mas' concerts, however, feature a mixture of traditional Javanese gamelan music and newly composed music by members of the gamelan group. Members have noted that for performances that feature all new music—like their 2014/2015 show, *Gamelan Untethered*—it would be inappropriate to wear Javanese formal clothing. For most of their concerts, members either dress in all black or in dress pants and colorful shirts. For the latter, some male members may wear *batik* print, button up shirts and some (very few) female members may wear *kabayas*.

These life stories told through dressing also work to create coherence in Naga Mas, in this case a desire for discontinuity, or a combination of strategies that Linde calls self-distancing and discontinuity as meta-continuity. The former strategy acknowledges that "A" is very different from "B"; it is a clear break. Naga Mas' dress and dressing are very different from those experienced in Java. The latter strategy, like that utilized by Diercks, notes that the discontinuity was purposeful; the continuity lies not between the actions but in the strategist's intent. Like many gamelan groups in Great Britain, most Naga Mas members have evidenced some discomfort with the idea of dressing in full, formal Javanese clothing. When they do include *batik* shirts or *kabayas*, these pieces of clothing are paired with dress slacks in a way that highlights them as dress shirts or blouses rather than as formal Javanese attire or as pieces of a costume. This entextualization serves to mitigate misinterpretation by outsiders who may view the use of formal Javanese clothing as Orientialism or exoticization. Thus, Naga Mas chooses styles of dress that are comfortable for themselves and relatively familiar to Scottish audiences.

These choices also affect and reflect their comportment around and during performances. Unlike the UHJGE women, who are restricted by their clothing, women in Naga Mas walk "normally." They focus more on choreographing their movement through the instruments between pieces such that they do not get in each other's way or step over the instruments. Depending on the piece of music, Naga Mas members will also smile at each other and their audience.

Understanding embodiment through dressing and comportment sheds light on issues of representation, namely in the form and acknowledgement of ethno-drag; for the UHJGE, perhaps, this is even more significant as they are not only adopting the dress but also the mannerisms of Javanese musicians. The UHJGE's and Naga Mas' dress span the gamut from the

"ethnic authentic" to the "cultural symbolic" (*batik* shirts and *kabayas*) to the "global *avant garde*" (black dress shirts/pants).[16] The resultant effect is that, to varying degrees, each group acknowledges the potential for accusations of appropriation but deal with it in different ways. The UHJGE use dressing in formal Javanese clothing and comporting themselves like Javanese musicians as an extension of the values instilled in them by Susilo, of their own experiences in Java, and of their dedication to traditional Javanese gamelan music. The act of dressing has become part of the ritual of preparation for performance and is used as an opportunity to teach newer members, not only about traditions in Java, but also about the traditions of the UHJGE itself. Naga Mas uses dressing to acknowledge their limited connections to Java as well as their positionality as creators of hybrid musics in Scotland. Their dress is a conscious reaction to both practical and ideological preferences. Thus in different ways, each group uses embodied behavior, experienced through dressing, to create coherence.

Life Stories Told through Behavior and Embodiment: Teaching and Learning

Gamelan teaching and learning outside of Indonesia involve opportunities for ambiguous or fluid teaching/learning roles and, in fact, teaching and learning may happen in ways that students are not readily familiar with. Gamelan teachers convey knowledge not only through verbal instruction but also through embodied behavior, as introduced in the previous section. This embodied behavior not only teaches participants ways of experiencing and performing gamelan. Interpreted as life stories, these reiterated behaviors also teach us about the values and continuity of community gamelan groups.

In the opening anecdote of Chapter 2, I mentioned the professor's assumption that community gamelan groups and university gamelan classes are the same thing. For many years,

Susilo was the leader and teacher of all Javanese gamelan and dance classes offered by the UHM music department. According to Byron Moon, in order to accommodate eager students, Susilo began holding additional rehearsals on Saturdays. The students dedicated to the Saturday club became the core members of the current UHJGE, and over time, the roles of these members changed. Members of the UHJGE may still identify themselves as Susilo's students, but they are no longer university students. Susilo's role changed from sole teacher of the classes to authority figure whose students teach subsequent generations of students. R. Anderson Sutton commented that initially, "everything we were learning, we were learning from Sus, but then many of us spent time in Java. And we came back, and we could do things that, dancers knew dances that Sus hadn't known or taught . . . people began to come of age and Sus would go off for a semester, and things kept going. So it wasn't as tight as 'Sus the guru' and then all the disciples . . . We all still respected him, but we were not as totally dependent on him" (p.c. R. Anderson Sutton 4/20/15).

While Sutton was referring more to those of Susilo's students who left the group to found and lead their own gamelan ensembles (e.g., himself, Roger and Val Vetter, David Harnish, and Andrew Weintraub), the dynamic was also changing within the group in Hawai'i. Moon became the instructor for the Javanese gamelan class after Susilo's retirement in 1999; Moon and Pattie Dunn gave several music and dance workshops for university students. University students who joined the UHJGE, particularly during my time with the group, turned more to Moon, Pattie and Gary Dunn, Nancy Cooper, and others besides Susilo for guidance and clarification on parts. As first identified in Chapter 3 (pg. 86), these long-time members would, in turn, often refer to Susilo when in doubt of a certain passage. In this sense, the same individual may occupy the learner role in one context and the teacher role in another. This dynamic occurred only in the

long-time gamelan members; Susilo's role as leader[17] and new members' roles as students did not change.

There are helpful parallels to be drawn between the internal organization of the UHJGE and other types of musical community in their geographic location. The dynamic which existed (and to some extent still exists) between Susilo and his students may be likened to Teri Skillman's definitions of *kumu hula* ("teacher, tutor; beginning, source, origin" (2012, 385)) and *haumana* ("student, pupil, apprentice, recruit, disciple" (ibid)). Over the years, Susilo became much more than an instructor of music and dance:

> Maybe that's what Pak Sus just actually taught us . . . it's just being *thoughtful* . . . and respecting and being thoughtful about other people . . . Now that I think about it, maybe that's *really* what Pak Sus taught us. He had a great way of teaching people music and dance, to make it easier for Westerners to learn, but I think in the end really he taught how to be a better person. (p.c. Pattie Dunn 4/22/15; emphasis in original)

Also, as Tschudi notes, Susilo became a personage to whom one committed one's time and knowledge; knowledge that, admittedly, often stemmed from himself (Susilo). The deference shown to Susilo and the authority vested in him by his long-time students—even Sutton and Vetter, who left to establish careers in ethnomusicology and gamelan scholarship, and Moon, who replaced Susilo as teacher of the gamelan class following the latter's retirement—is evident in Moon's comment that:

> There [was] always the feeling, even when Pak Sus wasn't coming [to rehearsals], you could always send him an email or you could call him up. Just the fact that he was around, you knew that there was a little bit of buffer zone between you and the unknown. (p.c. Byron Moon 4/28/15)

Thus, while long-time members of both the first and second waves fluctuated between positions of leadership and positions as students, Susilo himself retained the status of venerated leader and cultural authority figure.

Naga Mas presents a different dynamic with a somewhat similar fluidity between leadership, teaching, and learning roles. This community group has no single designated leader; several individuals take on teaching roles and responsibilities depending on the situation but these roles are constantly in flux. There are certain people—currently Margaret Smith, J. Simon van der Walt, and Katherine Waumsely—who tend to lead beginners' and other workshops offered to the community. It is understood within Naga Mas that *any* member can help lead and/or teach these workshops, however. Similarly, if one member has more knowledge of a certain type or style of Javanese gamelan music than the others—for example, member Bill Whitmer led a four-week workshop for Naga Mas on *gendhing*—the "regular" teachers often find themselves in the position of students again.

As such, Naga Mas' dynamic might be likened to Scottish pub sessions. Instead of a hierarchy with one venerable leader and many dedicated students, the pub sessions dynamic consist of many musicians, often of varying levels of ability and skill, who take turns leading the tunes. Peter Cope writes that the protocol for leadership is dependent upon whoever steps up to lead: an individual "leads off on a set of tunes" but "if they run out of links then you carry on" (2002, 100). This approach is also seen in Naga Mas members' method of leading workshops and rehearsals. Generally one person leads each workshop or set of workshops, but it is not necessarily the same person every time. Likewise, other Naga Mas members who attend beginners' workshops follow that person's lead, but if the leader "runs out of links," the other members readily and handily step in to add their knowledge, suggest a new way of thinking about a tricky section, or fill in a missing part. Thus all Naga Mas members fluctuate their positionality as leaders, instructors, and students.

Given these contexts, teaching becomes a medium for life stories in each group. One example of this is how each group teaches members and others how to behave properly around the gamelan instruments. One of the first things members of Naga Mas teach workshop participants is to remove their shoes. Usually practical reasons are given for this—it is much more comfortable to sit barefoot on the floor—followed by a cultural explanation of why Javanese musicians do this—it is a sign of respect to the instruments. Participants are also instructed not to step over the instruments; sometimes explanations for this are given and sometimes they are not. When they are, practicality again comes first—stepping over them might cause a loss of balance which could lead to injuring both the person and the instrument—followed by cultural explanation—it is considered rude in Java. While these instructions are always given when people are first introduced to the instruments, Naga Mas members also lead by example, always removing their shoes and being very conscious of how they move through the instruments. These instructions—particularly the first—are not strongly enforced, however, as first-time participants are reassured that they can leave their shoes on if they feel more comfortable doing so.

First-time members of the UHJGE are also required to remove their shoes and not step over the instruments. These instructions are not given on the first day of membership, however, because it is expected that all incoming members will have taken the university's Javanese gamelan class where these behaviors are actively taught. Other expected behaviors, however, are not always overtly taught either in the class or in the community group. For example, it is expected practice for people moving from one instrument to another to not walk upright among the instruments; one must walk bent over at the waist, usually with the right hand out in front of the body. One is also expected to whisper "maaf" or "sorry/excuse me" when moving this way.

This behavior was not taught to me through verbal instruction when I first joined the Javanese gamelan class, nor when I joined the UHJGE. The long-time members taught through example, and I quickly learned to copy their behavior without initially understanding why it was expected.

The verbal instructions to take off one's shoes and to not step over the gamelan instruments, as well as the corresponding behaviors exhibited by both groups, may seem trivial. How these behaviors are taught and reinforced (or not), however, gives us significant insight into the kinds of things each group feels are important for their identity as a community gamelan. Naga Mas places value on experiential learning and ease of accessibility as was discussed in Chapter 3. Members of Naga Mas are aware of their positionality as a community that tries to acknowledge both Scottish and Javanese cultures. They explain the Javanese origins of these behaviors but also emphasize their practicalities for Scottish participants. It is important to them that first-timers understand that these instruments, the music they will make, and the culture they are from are different from what they may be used to. It is equally important that newcomers feel comfortable and welcome. Asking them to focus on slight adaptations in behavior—like removing one's shoes and being conscious of where one steps—teaches participants awareness of and respect for difference. Long-time members' comfort and ease with these behaviors also reassure new participants and show them how the unfamiliar can be made familiar. In my observations of beginner's workshops, participants are eager to embody these practices and if they accidentally step over an instrument, they will acknowledge and self-correct their behavior.

Similarly, the behaviors taught and exhibited by members of the UHJGE tell us a great deal about their values as a community. As with Naga Mas, the long-time members lead by example, and this behavior reassures new members that what seems strange will soon become second nature. Their proclivity to not explain their actions is tied to assumptions about and

experiences with Javanese gamelan pedagogy. A goal for this community group has been to replicate "certain things that for the Javanese would be a lot more untaught and unstated and allowed to happen by osmosis" (Dally, quoted in Mendonça 2002, 482). By not explaining certain behaviors—like not standing or walking upright among the gamelan instruments—or not teaching them in recognizable ways, long-time members create a situation that they perceive to be similar to that in Java; difference does not need to be explained because it is not perceived as difference. This can lead to tension between short- and long-time members of the group because verbal admonitions to not stand or walk upright among the instruments reveal how assumed correct behavior in gamelan is tied to respect and thoughtfulness. Long-time member Pattie Dunn once publically scolded new members for walking upright among the instruments. For Dunn, this is an unconscious behavior that had been practiced for decades; she interpreted the newer members' actions as disrespectful and evidence of a lack of social awareness. For newer members, these were brand new behaviors that, from their perspective, had not been taught, and as such they became hurt and defensive. They were unaware of the significance of these behaviors, and indeed may not have even noticed them, as people in the United States generally do not walk through instruments bent over.

These approaches are strongly influenced by Susilo's methods for teaching gamelan in the United States which emphasized listening to and thinking about gamelan like a Javanese musician. In Ted Solís' edited volume, *Performing Ethnomusicology*, Susilo noted,

> just as important as learning to [play gamelan] is learning to think the way the Javanese musicians think . . . the students should learn to feel or think the way a native thinks when playing gamelan. I don't mean just emphasizing beat eight instead of beat one, but actually feeling that a gong signals the end of a phrase, rather than the beginning . . . Learning a culture, in this case a music culture, is not just about learning how the natives physically do it, but also how they think about it. (2004, 57-8)

Susilo continued this approach in my time with the UHJGE and often would encourage members to listen for specific instruments and to think about the *balungan* and how their part should interact with it. Long-time members echoed these instructions, and as a new member, I was frequently encouraged to "listen to the *bonang*/*rebab*/*peking*" in order to learn both how to *garap*[18] my own part (on the *saron* or *slenthem*) and how to correctly *garap* the *bonang* and *peking* when it came time for me to play them. During a break or after rehearsal, Byron Moon or Gary Dunn would often isolate the *bonang* or *peking* part for me, but as my understanding grew, this worked to reinforce what I had already learned by listening to it during a play-through of the piece.

This expectation that participants will learn through listening and imitation rather than through verbal instruction was made very clear to me in 2014 and 2015 when I returned to Hawai‘i for fieldwork (April, 2014; April-May and November, 2015, November 2017). In each instance, I returned only about a week before the UHJGE's concert. I had no expectation that I would perform with them, but when I arrived at rehearsal—just to say hello—I was handed lyrics and told to sing. During my three years previous experience with the group, I had only played instruments; I had never sung with them on any concert. Because of the stress placed on learning through listening and thinking like a Javanese musician, however, it was expected that—even if I could not necessarily produce the proper timbre—I would be able to understand how to *garap* the song correctly. This approach supports the UHJGE members' previous behaviors and expectations: creating a situation where music that is not part of the cultural soundscape may nevertheless be taught and learned through perceived Javanese pedagogy.

Here, teaching-as-life story uncovers further ways UHJGE members create coherence: through their reliance on Susilo's methods and expectations as well as the wider belief that their

teaching methods cohere—as closely as possible—with how gamelan was taught in Java, they create a strong rationality for how things are done in the UHJGE. Several long-time members have admitted that things in Java have changed and that their approach may be considered old-fashioned. This fact is noted with pride, as UHJGE members can say they are keeping both Javanese and their own traditions alive through their approach to teaching. This also works to explain away discontinuity. What seems to be confusing or arbitrary behaviors to new-comers actually adhere to a consistency that long-time members can trace back to Susilo and Java, albeit of a particular historical period.

Thus both groups embody teaching and learning in ways that remain consistent with their own philosophies and values. Their behaviors become the life stories of the communities themselves as subsequent generations of students and participants are inducted into the group and begin perpetuating said behaviors. Questioning these behaviors—for example, when a member of the UHJGE questioned the necessity of dressing in formal Javanese clothing or when a member of Naga Mas questioned the group's stance on accessibility—is an attempt to affect the trajectory of the group rather than of an individual within the group. It is the community, then, that must decide whether to adapt to the questioner's demands or to ignore them and carry on. In either case, understanding embodied behavior as life stories of the communities shows the fluidity and flexibility of organization and transmission of knowledge and values within affinity communities.

Coherence Systems

One of the major ways that individuals and groups create coherence is through the management of coherence principles like those discussed above. If used regularly and if

identified as crucial to the community's continuation, these principles may become part of internalized coherence systems recognized by community members. I differentiate here between internal and external coherence systems.[19] An external coherence system is one which has its origins outside the community and was not created by its members. Linde focuses mainly on external coherence systems in her research (i.e., behaviorism, Freud, astrology). In contrast, an internal coherence system is one that originates within a specific community. This coherence system has grown out of the coherence principles used by community members to explain their membership. They provide "a means for understanding, evaluating, and constructing accounts of experience" as well as a "guide for future behavior" (1993, 163-65). These coherence systems relate to each gamelan group's symbolic boundaries and as such each individual will have a different interpretation of and relationship to the system. In examining the life stories and coherence principles of both Naga Mas and the UHJGE, several coherence systems suggested themselves. They do not necessarily overlap but instead describe the range of possibilities for affinity communities.

The Susilo Coherence System

The UHJGE's main coherence system is created from lessons learned and ideologies instilled in first wave members by Hardja Susilo. This is in keeping with Shelemay's contention that affinity communities are often built by and around a single charismatic leader (2011). For the UHJGE, this coherence system is very strong. While I do not believe Susilo could have predicted the outcome and reality of his teachings, as they pertain to the UHJGE, his desire to build a group of musicians who perceived and responded to each other and the music was intentional. Pattie Dunn's perception of gamelan as *kampung*; Susilo, Dunn, and Moon's

strategies of dressing and teaching; and Vetter, Tschudi, and Sutton's further support of these strategies contribute to a larger system that values the perceived Javanese focus on extended family, familial obligations, listening, awareness, and comportment. This is a powerful system that was initiated by Susilo and is recognized as one that is still in place by former (Roger Vetter), returning (R. Anderson Sutton), and current (Byron Moon) members of the UHJGE. This coherence system represents the beliefs of certain community gamelan members regarding proper behavior and morality, and it shapes the experiences of all members. While some members vary in their support of and adherence to this coherence system, all members of the UHGJE that I spoke to acknowledge the existence of this system as contextualizing their experiences of gamelan as well as identifying and shaping proper behavior.

This coherence system is evident in assumptions regarding behavior as related by Pattie Dunn. She asked me if, during the *selamatan* for Susilo's 2015 memorial concert, I had noticed how the younger gamelan members and dancers piled food on their plates and even went back for second helpings before everyone—including the current leaders of the ensembles—had gotten something to eat. "It made me think, Pak Sus didn't just teach us the music and the dance. In a lot of ways, he taught us a way of behaving [that included] situational awareness" (p.c. Pattie Dunn 4/22/15). Dunn wondered, "What are we not doing to . . . push that forward? How did it get to this point where I have to tell people 'Wait until everybody eats!'?" (ibid). She was shocked and dismayed at the younger generations' apparent lack of consideration but all the more so because they played in gamelan. Playing in gamelan, for Dunn, means one should know better. This life story continued one year later as Dunn expressed lingering frustration with gamelan members who did not appreciate the values imparted to the community by Susilo:

> I had time to reflect that this was another concert without Bapak Sus and the need to instill in the newer younger musicians the sense of tradition surrounding this gamelan.

> The lessons that Pak Sus taught us so gently. . . . I thought about the anger I felt towards a young lady who was resentful at having to dress for the concert after having spent time in doing her hair and dressing her in *kain* and *kebaya*. I thought about how impatient I felt with the older gamelan member who decided it was too much trouble to dress properly for the concert and being gently reminded that it was something Pak Sus was proud of . . . that we took the time to dress properly and observe the traditions surrounding gamelan. (p.c. Pattie Dunn 4/18/16)

While the above story problematizes the transmission of values, it also demonstrates the strength of these values for this community. While other, first wave members were less vociferous than Dunn, they agreed with her regarding the influence of Susilo on the shape and ideology of the gamelan group. Second wave members are also aware of the impact of Susilo, even though they did not necessarily share the same type of relationship with him that the first-wave members did. For members who joined after the second wave (in the 2000s), this coherence system is still prevalent. Amit Chaturvedi noted that a significant reason for his continued involvement in the UHJGE is his connection and obligation to Susilo and his teachings: "Especially now that he is gone, the time and energy he committed to me gives me a certain responsibility to continue playing in the group in whatever capacity I can" (p.c. Amit Chaturvedi 9/8/16).

This is not to say that this community group will fold following Susilo's death. It is to say that Susilo's influence and ideology is a driving force of this community gamelan's identity even after his passing. In preparation for the November, 2017 concert, Moon explained his methods to the Javanese gamelan class by noting: "This is how [Susilo] did it." Tschudi also noted as much when speculating on the potential for change if another Javanese musician came to lead the group: "I hadn't really thought about that, but if younger people are really into composing new things or doing their own stuff, then that would be quite a change for our group. We might prefer someone who, of course can do some new things, but would be very solid on the classical

repertoire. So that's going to be a challenge for the future" (p.c. Daniel Tschudi 4/25/15). Regardless of this, Moon, Tschudi, Sutton, and many others commented on the necessity of having a Javanese leader for the group to ensure that they progress "culturally, musically, artistically, [and] creatively" (ibid). This suggests a deeper level of the Susilo coherence system, one that distinguishes not only what Susilo taught them but also what he represented: cultural and musical authority; a way to mitigate exoticism and negotiate the Other.[20]

While *communitas* was explored in Chapter 3, it is worth mentioning here because it does form a portion of this coherence system. Many first wave members credit their continued involvement to strong feelings of togetherness, and many second wave members comment on a desire but lack of opportunity for these feelings within the group. As such, one may assume that *communitas* itself is one of the coherence systems that serves to identify the UHJGE. I find this problematic for several reasons, however. First, I do not feel *communitas* is specific enough in this sense to identify the UHJGE in contrast to other musical organizations. While several of Mendonça's interlocutors identified *communitas* as a unique characteristic of gamelan (2002), this does not hold true for every gamelan member. Many other musicians and musical participants have recorded experiencing *communitas* in situations that did not involve gamelan. It is, therefore, not unique to the UHJGE and may be considered an external coherence system, rather than an internal one. Secondly, Turner's admission of the difficulty in sustaining the collective feeling of oneness achieved during *communitas* and the resulting *communitas* paradox argues against its use as an internal coherence system. It should be considered a part of the Susilo coherence system because of the connections that gamelan facilitated for individuals under Susilo's tutelage and because the members themselves identify Susilo with those connections.

Naga Mas' Accessibility as a Coherence System

The Susilo coherence system is not the *only* option for affinity communities as is evidenced by the lack of a parallel coherence system—organized around a single charismatic leader—in Naga Mas. I would argue that one strong coherence system that functions as a symbolic boundary for Naga Mas is a desire to foster accessibility by whatever means possible. This ideology does not stem from a single person but has instead arisen from the collective ideologies of various members over the years.

It is important to indicate what Naga Mas members want to access as well as what they want to make accessible to the public. Addressing the former, accessibility applies to any form of musical knowledge connected to gamelan. This includes traditional performance practices and repertoire for both Javanese and Balinese gamelans, cultural contexts and ways of knowing and teaching, and contemporary musical practices, musical collaborations, and opportunities for new music creation. These overlap strongly with how Naga Mas treats public accessibility to the instruments, as this includes traditional performance practice and repertoire, cultural context, and opportunities for improvisation and new creation in their public workshops.

This ideology provides a context for experiences and a guide for future behavior, particularly as it pertains to representation. Katherine Waumsley shared a story that, while not common, is indicative of how Naga Mas negotiates accessibility through awareness of how they (re)present Javanese gamelan to a Scottish public as well as how their work is perceived by the public. This story relates to a joint project between Naga Mas members and a group of young people for the 2014 Commonwealth Games. Over a weekend, Waumsley and her husband, composer Colin Broom, taught the group a *gangsaran*, a co-written piece they were going to "treat like a gamelan piece," and a completely new work written for gamelan and acrobats.

Originally, the group of young people wanted the music to accompany a dragon dance.[21] Waumsley explained to them that what they were envisioning came more from Chinese culture than Indonesian culture and said:

> I just felt it was a step too far in the Western bunching together all sorts of other spurious cultures. So I said to them, 'I think there's a bit of cultural confusion there if we do that. Fair enough, do our own version of gamelan music ourselves, with some deference to where it came from and how to treat the instruments, but . . .' But then she came back and she was like, 'Ok, that's fine, we won't do the dragons. How about accompanying the youth circus?' And I was like, 'Well, that sounds insane, clearly we have to do it!' And we did end up accompanying these acrobats. And it was actually really good because it was like a *wayang*. Cuz we took signals from them, and we knew the length of their dances, and that was actually really cool. Though it could have gone the other way and just been completely surreal. (p.c. Katherine Waumsley 11/15/14)

This story exemplifies both the potential for conflict and how Naga Mas mitigates conflict through compromise and a dedication to all forms of accessibility. They want their knowledge to be accessible to others and that includes knowledge of traditional Javanese gamelan practices. They put their own knowledge of gamelan and *wayang kulit* to use to accommodate an arguably exoticizing venture but in ways that allow them to express their own values and connections. It is thus a coherence system that recognizes all forms of accessibility which allows for adherence to traditional Javanese gamelan practice and which accommodates globalized musical and cultural mixing.

Conclusions

This chapter explored the utility of life stories, the importance of coherence in identity, the various coherence principles used to explain individuals' actions and to make them consistent with their world views, the use of embodied life stories to perpetuate and transmit the community's values, and suggested two main coherence systems that contribute to the symbolic boundaries of each community. This work suggests that it is through life stories and the

management of causality that Naga Mas and UHJGE members stress gamelan's normality in their lives.

Life stories, the coherence principles that shape and support them, and the resulting coherence systems which guide each community as a whole express the values, goals, and identities of these affinity communities. Performativity gives meaning to words and actions; these do something rather than merely exist. Through their words and actions, UHJGE and Naga Mas members tell the stories of who they are and what they know about others. In these varied and sometimes contradictory ways, they perform their affinity for gamelan in ways that make sense in each unique cultural context (Hawai‘i and Scotland).

The next two chapters continue this analysis of coherence by examining the use of music as life stories for both Naga Mas (Chapter 5) and the UHJGE (Chapter 6).

CHAPTER 5 Negotiating Agency: Devising, Creating, and Composing Naga Mas' Music

Introduction

This chapter considers Naga Mas' music as life stories that contribute to the coherence of their affinity community gamelan. After a brief description of their general repertoire, I analyze two specific works—the *Lokananta Suite*, referenced elsewhere in this dissertation, and "Gamelunk," a staple of the group's performance repertoire. These pieces exemplify the creative interaction of musical and cultural heritages evident in Naga Mas. They also illustrate the varying approach to musical creation taken by members of the group. This contributes to the coherence system of accessibility (Chapter 4). It also suggests other, related coherence principles, those of connection and creative (communal) contribution. These are explored in light of research on influence to discover how the negotiation of agency functions as a coherence system for Naga Mas. In the final section, I analyze Naga Mas' concept concert, *Gamelan Untethered*, to demonstrate how they realize these various coherences.

Exploring music through the lens of life stories gives us a way to understand intercultural pieces created and performed by affinity communities. Naga Mas' repertoire consists of a great deal of new music that incorporates and relies on some connection between their knowledge of Javanese gamelan music and their own, individual values, knowledge, and experiences. This leads to an overarching direction taken by the community, a direction that looks to influence, creativity, connection, and negotiation to guide their actions. These ideas may be interpreted differently, but taken as a whole they provide a nuanced picture of the potential for and the reality of gamelan affinity communities.

The Repertoire of Naga Mas

While Chapter 2 delved into many of the specifics of Naga Mas' 27-year history, this section will focus specifically on the musical works learned and created by the group in that time. Table 2 shows a sample[1] of Naga Mas' repertoire divided into: 1) pieces identified as traditional Javanese by members; 2) newly composed works created by current and former members of the group; 3) arranged/initiated/devised pieces based on previously existing works; and 4) arrangements or adaptations of Balinese gamelan music.[2]

Javanese (trad.)	**Newly Composed**	**Arranged/Initiated/Devised**	**Balinese**
Ayak-Ayak (Joko 2001-02)	Abyss (Keliehor 2005)	Bonnie Anne & Berwick Bully (Brown/Naga Mas)	Beleganjur (Smith/Waumsley/van der Walt 2006)
Baita Kandas – Ladrang Gangsaran (Pragnell/Prasadiyanto)	Adrift and Afloat (van der Walt 2002)	Ca' the Yowes (Smith/Naga Mas 2007)	Gending Gilak Topeng (I Nyoman Wenten)
Bima Kurda (Whitmer/Jakobsdottir? 2015)	An Ominous Flock of Birds (van der Walt 2002)	Caping Gugung (Joko 2001-02)	Kecak (I Wayan Dibia 2006)
Budhalan (2012) includes: Kemudha, Cara Balen, and Lancaran Bondhet	Ball of Sardines (van der Walt 2015)	Cincin Kawin (Smith/Naga Mas 2007)	Topeng Keras (I Nyoman Wenten)
Eling-Eling (Joko or earlier)	Bercerita (Schellhas 2006)	Gambang Suling (Joko 2002)	Wira Yuda (transcribed by Smith/van der Walt/Jakobsdottir)
Gangsaran (Pragnell)	Brother Sister (Waumsley 2016)	Ganjur (Joko)	
Gangsaran Bendrong (Jakobsdottir/Joko?)	Canna I (Kenny)	Gudhul Pacul (Alvanita 2016)	
Gangsaran Roning Tawang (Pragnell)	Constellations (Waumsley 2014)	Iron Pipes (Brown/Smith/Naga Mas)	
Gegot (Whitmer 2015)	Deep Currents (van der Walt 2016)	Jaran Teji (Joko)[3]	

Gonjang-Ganjing (Pawson 2012)	Domaine (Keliehor 2005)	Kath's/Mairi's Wedding (Smith/Naga Mas 2007?)	
Grompol Mataram (Pawson 2010)	Formica (van der Walt 2014)	Kecakaireachd (Brown/Naga Mas 2008?)	
Hudan Mas (Pragnell)	Gamelunk (van der Walt 1997)	Pig in the Kraton (Channing/transcribed by van der Walt 2014)	
Kagok Semarang (Pawson 2012)	Inuit Song (Wallace/Smith/Brumby 2016)	Supremacy (Smith/Naga Mas)	
Kembang Gempol (Whitmer 2016)	Insidious (Smith 2016)	We Travel the Spaceways (van der Walt 2014)	
Ketawang Kinanthi Sandhung (Joko 2001-02)	Joko Jive (van der Walt 2002)	Wong Donya (Joko 2001-02)	
Kodok Ngorek (Joko?)	Ki Breathing (Waumsley 2016)		
Kothek (Pawson)	Lancaran Gumrégsh (Harjito)		
Kupu-Kuwi (Pragnell)	Memory Hammers Sword (Waumsley 2005)		
Ladrang Ratu (Joko 2001-02)	Pro 154 (Mackinnon 2014)		
Langgam Klinci Ucul (2012)	Radiance (Keliehor 2008)		
Manyar Sewu (van der Walt/Prasadiyanto 2016)	Running in the Dark (van der Walt 2005)		
Mugi Rahayu (Prasadiyanto 2017)	Selunding (Keliehor 2003)		
Pangkur (Pragnell/Prasadiyanto)	Selunding Suling (Keliehor 2004)		
Ricik-Ricik (Pragnell/Joko?)	Shenebtya (van der Walt 1997)		

Sampak Naga (Joko 2001-02)	Smaradahana (Keliehor 2004)		
Singa Singa (Pragnell)	Solar System (Dunnett 2014)		
Singanebah (van der Walt 2015)	Spiral in Alcyone (Keliehor 2010)		
Srepeg Kangsa (Joko)	Steadily-Stop! (van der Walt 2000)		
Srepeg Sragen (Joko)	Storm (Wells 2016)		
Subakastawa (Pragnell)	Treetopia (Smith 2006?)		
Talu (Joko 2001-02) includes: Sukma Ilang—Godril—Rujak Jeruk--Pakumpulan	Untethered (Broom 2014)		
Tropongbang (Pragnell)	Waves (Smith 2016)		
Umbul-Umbul (Joko)	Woman Man Nature (Keliehor 2004)		
Wilujeng (Pragnell)			

Table 2 Sample of Naga Mas' Repertoire

Naga Mas has performed the above music for numerous shows, concerts, festivals, and workshops. The music is also used in a variety of ways depending on the context.[4]

The pieces in Table 2 suggest various things regarding Naga Mas' approach to music. First of all, the number of traditional and newly composed pieces are roughly equivalent. This supports members' assertions that there should be a balance between new and traditional repertoire in order to appeal to and satisfy the greatest number of (potential) members. There is a shared priority placed on what Naga Mas recognizes as Javanese music and on their own musical

creativity. When queried about Naga Mas' traditional repertoire, J. Simon van der Walt was equally willing to attribute the learning of certain pieces to Javanese teachers as to members of Naga Mas (e.g., Baita Kandas – Ladrang Gangsaran is attributed to both Pragnell and Prasadiyanto; Gangsaran Bendrong is attributed to Jakobsdottir or Joko).

This also suggests a shared agency; one that recognizes difference between what a Naga Mas member might learn from a Javanese musician and what they might learn from a fellow member but also recognizes the legitimacy of the Naga Mas member's knowledge and the idiosyncrasies of individual Javanese musicians. For example, Sophie Pragnell observes that Naga Mas' Javanese gamelan repertoire is as "traditional" as the community group can make it. She explains that pieces were often put together by members trying to recreate the traditional pieces they had learned from workshops—in England or in Scotland—and based on hastily written *balungan* and imperfectly remembered elaborations. Additionally, some members note that Joko had his own eccentricities.[5] Matthew Cohen, who studied with *dhalang* in Surakarta and worked with Joko and Naga Mas in Glasgow, opined that the *wayang* repertoire Joko taught them was a simplification of standard works. While avoiding specifics, Joko himself noted that the repertoire he taught Naga Mas was for "short *wayang kulit*, not [the] traditional way," and that he modified "many other compositions for *Wayang Chuchulain*" (p.c. Joko Susilo 6/15/16). Thus, while pieces like "Ricik-Ricik" and "Subakastawa" are recognizably part of Javanese gamelan repertoire, Naga Mas' specific realizations of them are dependent on their (always growing) understanding of Javanese performance practice as well as the personal proclivities of any Javanese teachers.

Their use of "traditional" as a demarcation often has more to do with the connection the pieces have to Java than anything else. For example, during the same exchange with van der

Walt indicated above, he included “Wong Donya” and “Gambang Suling” in a list of traditional pieces performed by Naga Mas for *Wayang Lokananta*. As will be explained below, “Wong Donya” was originally a pop song (p.c. Katheryn Emerson 9/29/16). Some of Naga Mas’ literature identifies “Gambang Suling” as a *dangdut* piece arranged for gamelan, but it has a much longer history:

> [Gambang Suling] is attributed to Nartosabdho, probably accurately so, and is one of his earliest compositions, maybe early 1960s or even earlier. It has been ‘treated’ (digarap) a la dangdut in recent years, as have many songs that were not originally *dangdut* songs. (p.c. R. Anderson Sutton 8/25/16)

Sutton classifies this song as “lagu kreasi baru (lit. new creation song)” in contrast to “kontemporar,” a cognate used to designate more “avant-garde, contemporary art music” (ibid). Naga Mas credits their version of “Gambang Suling” to Joko, who may have told them it was his arrangement of the *dangdut* treatment. Knowing this, van der Walt’s inclusion of “Gambang Suling” in a list of traditional Javanese works indicates more his knowledge of the piece’s connection to Java than its connection to classical Javanese gamelan.

Another issue revealed by this repertoire list lies in the differentiation between composed, arranged, and initiated/devised pieces. Some members—van der Walt and Keliehor, for example—identify themselves as the sole composers or arrangers of their works. Still others, like Smith, eschew the title composer, preferring to initiate or “devise” music: “coming in with bare bones structure, [but] filling it out, making decisions together” (interview with House 2014, 129). It is this last explanation that separates arrangements from devised pieces. For works like “Topeng Keras” and “Gending Gilak Topeng,” members of the group were not consulted as to the pieces’ actual creation; the pieces themselves were simply arranged given the availability of

players and instruments. For pieces like “Iron Pipes” and “Bonnie Anne,” however, several to all members of Naga Mas contributed to the final product.[6]

Additionally, other pieces created by members include improvised sections. In “Treetopia,” “Gamelunk,” and “Pro 154,” one or several of the musicians contribute to the piece in fundamental ways in the moment of performance. Building on this “established” improvisatory music—where a section or instrument is expected to improvise as part of the piece—there are also moments of “improvised” improvisation, where a composer or initiator wants certain instruments to play a set melody, but the musicians themselves rebel, citing improvisatory precedence as part of both Javanese culture and their own personal idioms.

I highlight these distinctions to emphasize the depth and variability of Naga Mas’ musical work over the past twenty-seven years, the nuanced relationships between creator agency and created product, and the potential an analysis of said work holds for understanding the motivation, output, and coherence of affinity communities. To that end, I have chosen several pieces of Naga Mas’ repertoire to analyze as life stories (see Chapter 4). Music is a medium that encompasses sonic and embodied storytelling, but before addressing the music directly, I briefly consider music-as-life-stories in more detail.

Music as Life Stories

When approaching Naga Mas’ music as life stories, there are several things to consider: 1) the piece(s) of music itself, which may include hybrid musical or cultural influences; 2) the person/people who created it; and 3) the group who performs it. Stories *about* music help identify coherence principles and ultimately the coherence systems that guide affinity communities. Music *as* life stories may be used in a similar way—in conjunction with verbal and

embodied life stories—and analyzed to determine how music contributes to a community's coherence.

I analyze the work of two music creators in Naga Mas—Margaret Smith and J. Simon van der Walt—for several reasons. First, they have been consistent[7] members of Naga Mas since the mid-1990s. As such, they both have over twenty years of experience with gamelan in general and Naga Mas in particular. Second, they both have very different philosophies when it comes to musical creation. These varied and nuanced considerations are good representations of how Naga Mas members approach the creation of music. Finally, the pieces they create and devise include intercultural fusion. However, the genres each choose to bring into dialog with their gamelan knowledge and experience offer very different views and uses of hybridity.

Just as musical analysis and transcription of Naga Mas' full repertoire is beyond the scope of this dissertation, an examination of all works created and/or devised by Smith and van der Walt is improbable. In this chapter, I confine my analysis to the *Lokananta Suite*[8] (Smith) and "Gamelunk" (van der Walt). The transcriptions utilized in this chapter are small sections of the whole and are intended to draw attention to specific practices and sonorities. For full transcriptions of the *Lokananta Suite* and "Gamelunk," please see Appendix 1 (pg. 311).

The Lokananta Suite: "Ca' the Yowes – Mairi's/Kath's Wedding[9] *– (Aku) Wong Donya"*

This section will explore the music of the *Lokananta Suite* to ascertain whether coherence principles like those discussed in the previous chapter are present in pieces of music. This is in aid of learning what values are evident in the music, how these values contribute to coherence, and how the performance of this suite might also manifest the values of the entire community group.

For reference to the Spirit of Hope's *pelog* scale, please see below:

Pitch 1 = D5 +19.34 cents[10]
Pitch 2 = E-flat5 +48.64 cents
Pitch 3 = F5 +1.56 cents
Pitch 4 = A-flat5 -8.85 cents
Pitch 5 = A5 +11.65 cents
Pitch 6 = B-flat5 +39.41 cents
Pitch 7 = C6 +9.33 cents

While none are perfect "Western equivalents," this *pelog* scale has only two pitches that are drastically different from the tempered scale. These are pitches 2 and 6; each is roughly a quarter tone higher than tempered pitches.

Because improvisation is both a Javanese gamelan performance practice and a purview of certain Naga Mas members, the transcriptions below and in Appendix 1 are more descriptive than prescriptive. This is in keeping with Smith's assertion that, at least for "Ca' the Yowes," "any time we've used it . . . it's been semi-improvised and semi-devised with the people that moment and who's doing it, so there's no definitive anything" (p.c. Margaret Smith 5/26/16). Where applicable, I include the cipher note names in the Western notation. For comparative purposes, I have also transposed the printed versions of "Ca' the Yowes" and "Mairi's Wedding" into the gamelan's "key." The key signatures should not be taken as representative of an actual key but only as a shorthand to indicate certain flatted pitches.

The *Lokananta Suite* consists of three pieces, each of which leads directly into the next. "Ca' the Yowes"[11] is a tune documented in James Aird's *Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs volume 5* (1801). The text comes from a well-known poem by Robert Burns. While this tune is recorded as being in the key of E minor, Aird also notes that the piece is in the Dorian mode. These indications are curious considering that the tune both de-emphasizes the tonic pitch—each verse ends on the fifth—and completely avoids the lowered third. Aird's rhythm is solidly in 4/4 time and realized using mainly eighth notes and quarter notes.[12]

"Mairi's Wedding"[13] was written by J. R. Bannerman for Mary C. MacNiven when she won the Royal National Mòd[14] in 1934. The tune itself was originally called "A Mhàiri Bhàn Òg" (Mairi Young and Fair) and was written by Scottish poet Duncan Ban MacIntyre (1724-1812) for his wife, Mairi. The tune was published by Ralph Sweet in his 1965 collection entitled *The Fifer's Delight*. Here the tune is recorded as being in G major but, like "Ca' the Yowes," it avoids the third and leading tones. This song is also in common time with a majority of quarter notes making up the rhythm; there are also a few half notes, dotted quarter notes, and sixteenth notes to make it more rhythmically interesting.

"(Aku) Wong Donya," which translates to "I'm a man of the world," is used in *wayang kulit* during the *gara-gara* (clown) sequence. According to Joko Susilo, who taught this piece to Naga Mas, it is one of many such pieces that can be played during lighthearted scenes, and during its heyday (1986-1990), Joko used it "around 20 times per month" (p.c. Joko Susilo 9/28/16) . "Wong Donya" was originally a pop song popularized by Nom Koeswoyo and his band No Koes. It was adapted for *wayang* "during the era when *gara-gara* scenes were beginning to use all sorts of crazy stuff. This is one of a few songs that were meant to imitate 'rock music'" (p.c. Katheryn Emerson 9/29/16). While Joko states that "Wong Donya" is in *pathet manyura*, which is typically in the *slendro* tuning, Naga Mas plays this piece on *pelog* instruments.

In Naga Mas' version of "Ca' the Yowes," the vocal line includes the chorus, the second verse, and the fifth verse of Burns' 1794 poem.[15] While the overall melody is nearly the same as the tune in Aird's 1801 collection (see Figs. 12a and 12b), Smith was apparently influenced by more contemporary versions of the song, as well as contemporaneous Javanese compositions, particularly when it came to rhythm. Smith's version is in triple rather than duple meter and is

accompanied by a *slenthem* ostinato (Fig. 13) similar to that heard in “Parisuka,” a piece written by Martopangrawit in 1982 for Javanese gamelan. Much of the later sheet music for “Ca’ the Yowes,” as well as Sileas’ 1988 recording and Dougie MacLean’s 2007 recording, are in triple time and change the durations of certain notes. The aforementioned recordings also employ a great deal of *rubato*. They ornament the rather straightforward melody with trills or dotted eighth-sixteenth-note syncopations. Smith further adds Scotch snaps to embellish the tune.[16]

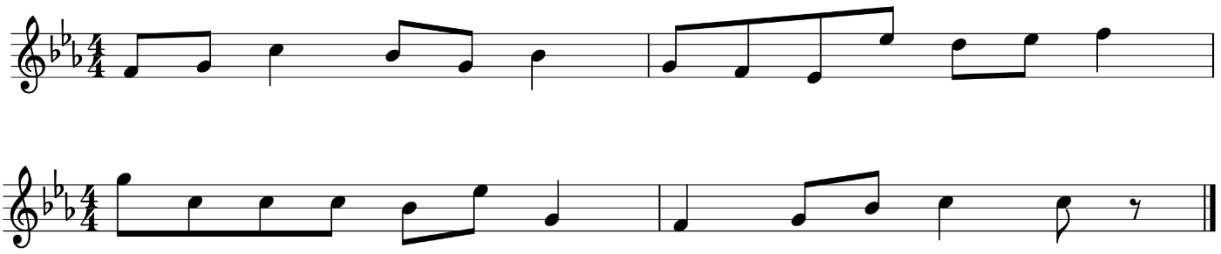


Figure 12a Violin tune of "Ca' the Yowes" from Aird's 1801 collection

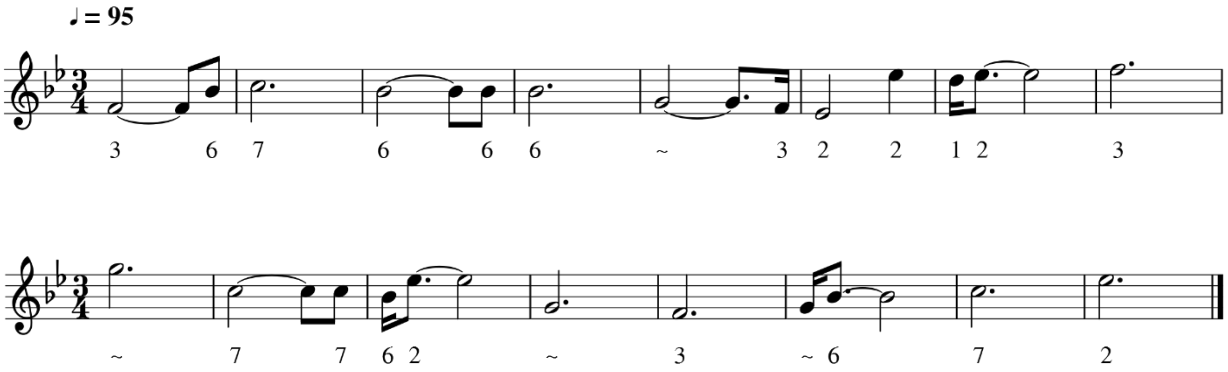


Figure 12b Vocal line from Naga Mas’ “Ca’ the Yowes” with gamelan notes indicated below (Note: this is transposed up an octave for ease of comparison)

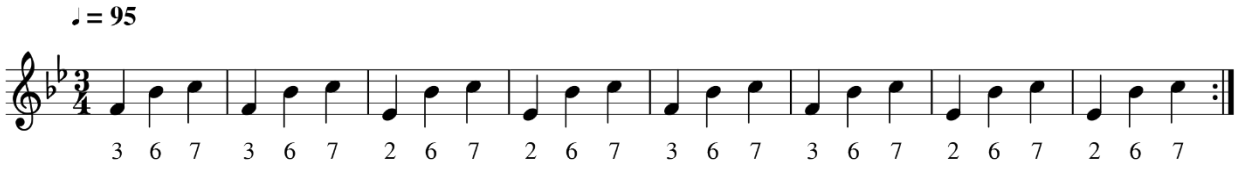


Figure 13 "Ca' the Yowes" slenthem ostinato

Using the *pelog* tuning, the scale for "Ca' the Yowes" includes pitches (1)[17], 2, 3, 5, 6, and 7 (roughly (D), E-flat, F, A, B-flat, and C), which is similar to *pathet barang*. This piece also uses the same range as *pathet barang*: low 3 to high 3. In *pathet barang*, pitches 2, 5, and 6 are frequently used as *seleh*, or ending, notes.[18] Pickvance explains that these important ending notes are actually "not helpful in characterizing the *pathet*" (2005, 55), however, because they are not truly unique to one specific *pathet*. Thus in the ensuing analysis, I include ways in which the melody and treatment of "Ca' the Yowes" implies knowledge of *pathet barang* in general[19] but not in particular. In Smith's cipher notation (Fig. 15), movement toward pitch 6 is evident in the *peking* while the *bonang barung* emphasizes pitch 6 in its repeated offbeat pattern. Pitch 2 is also emphasized on the stronger downbeat of the *slenthem* part (Fig. 13), but it is most strongly accentuated as the last pitch of the vocal line (Fig. 12b).

In the vocal line, subtle interactions between *pathet* and the Scottish tune come to the fore. The piece begins on pitch 3 (F); this would be the tonic pitch in Western tuning. Like Aird's version, Smith's vocal melody avoids the third (A, pitch 5) and features a lowered seventh (E-flat, pitch 2). While pitch 3 is reinforced by the *demung, slenthem*, and gong (Fig. 15), the emphasis consistently vacillates between pitch 3 and pitch 2. Rather than interpret this as a change of tonality, the oscillation between pitches 3 and 2 facilitates the unsettled yet sweet sound heard in the original. It also reinforces both the starting/tonic pitch (Scottish tune) and the ending/gong tone (Javanese). In this way, Naga Mas tries for an evocation of the original rather than for strict imitation.

The treatment of the last phrase of the vocal line also demonstrates a playful hinting at *pathet barang's* ending notes. In the original song, the text ends on a repetition of the dominant (see Fig. 14a), further contributing to the unsettled nature of the tune by not arriving on the tonic.

With the adjusted durations in Smith's version, she sustains a penultimate pitch 7 (C), perhaps leading listeners to the expected resolution emphasized by the *slenthem* part. In keeping with the original melody, ending on pitch 7 (C) when the piece started on pitch 3 (F) would be appropriate. However, instead of ending on pitch 7, Smith ends each verse on pitch 2 (Fig. 14b). Thus, instead of ending on the dominant of F, Smith ends on the *seleh* note 2, an important note in *pathet barang*. Ending on pitch 2 also allows for a very smooth transition to "Mairi's Wedding" as it is the starting pitch for the second song. This is also in keeping with the Javanese technique of using a pivot tone to transition to a new piece.[20]

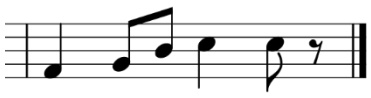


Figure 14a "Ca' the Yowes" ending - Aird

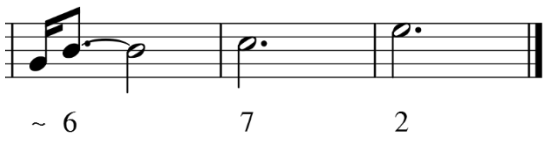


Figure 14b "Ca' the Yowes" ending - Smith

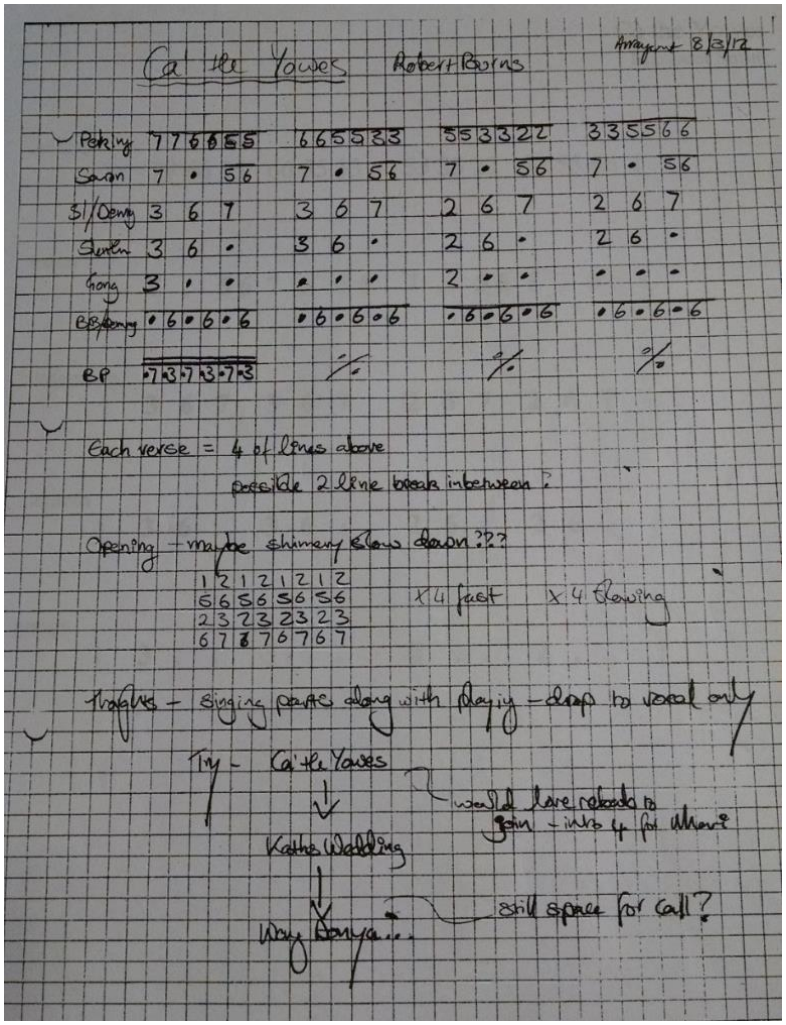


Figure 15 Margaret Smith's notes and cipher notation for "Ca' the Yowes"

In contrast to “Ca’ the Yowes,” “Mairi’s Wedding” is in a lively common time with a different tonal palette. The vocal range is higher (E-flat4 to C5 or low 2 to high 7), and while they still use the *pelog* tuning, the pitches are emphasized differently. The scale includes pitches 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, and 1 (roughly E-flat, F, A-flat, B-flat C, and D). The piece begins on pitch 2 but ends on pitch 3 which functions as a pivot tone into “Wong Donya.” This is in contrast to the original version—and many recordings made since then—in which the singer begins and ends on the tonic pitch (see Figs. 16a and 16b). The final cadential pitch is also not approached in the

same way, and the second half of the melody is a “fifth” above the first half rather than an octave (see the “Adjusted for gamelan range” indication in Fig. 16b).

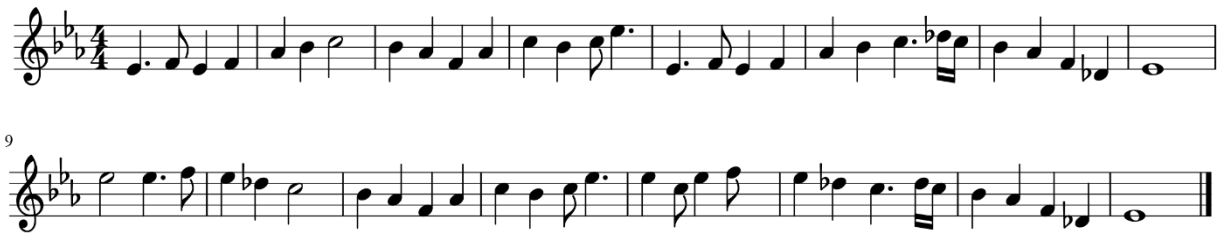


Figure 16a "Mairi's Wedding" melody from John Sweet's 1965 collection, transposed. (Note: rhythmic mistake in mm. 13 is taken from original)

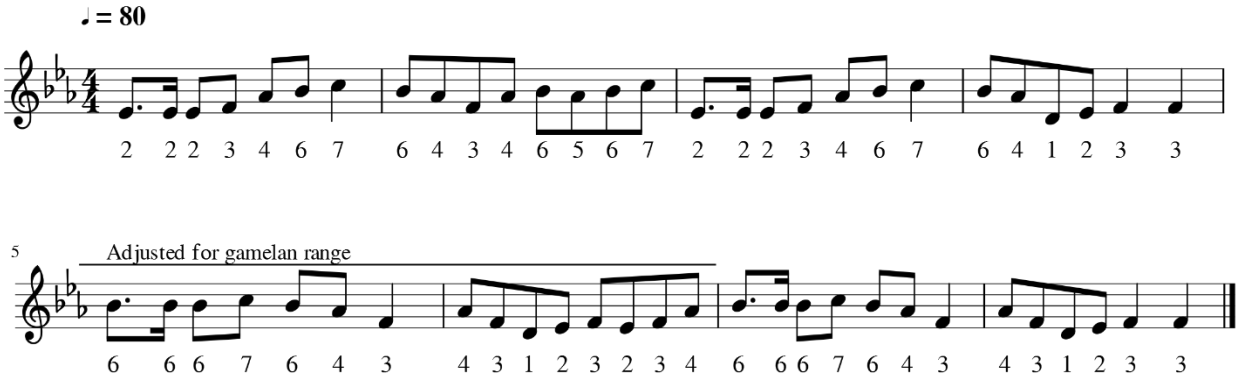


Figure 16b "Mairi's Wedding" melody transcribed from Naga Mas' Lokananta performance

I believe the reasons for these changes are to maintain the general contour and sonority of “Mairi’s Wedding” in *pelog*. For example, the *sarons* do not have a high pitch 2 that could accommodate the octave leap in the original tune (see mm. 8-9 in Fig. 16a and mm. 4-5 in Fig. 16b). This change is found in both the *saron* and the vocal melodies. It is possible to divide the melody among the different *sarons* (*demung* and *peking*, for example) in order to achieve this octave leap, but doing so would necessitate a thinning out of the melody.

One other moment of adaptation is seen in mm. 4 in Fig. 16a and mm. 2 in Fig. 16b. The original tune skips up to the tonic before leaping down an octave. As the *sarons* do not have a high pitch 1, they accommodate this by stepping up from pitch 6 (B-flat) to pitch 7 (C) before leaping down to pitch 2 (E-flat). As before, this compromise works within the limits of the gamelan instruments' range as well as approximating the contour of "Mairi's Wedding." The excited sounds and exclamations of recognition voiced by the audience when this piece began suggests that, despite these adaptations, the melody is identifiable.[21]

Additionally, in the sheet music for "Mairi's Wedding," regardless of the key, the final tonic pitch is always approached by an upper and lower neighbor tone, the latter being the lowered seventh scale degree. This lowered seventh is important for the sonority of the end of the vocal line. If the tonic home of Naga Mas' "Mairi's Wedding" is pitch 2 (E-flat, the pitch that the melody begins on), this would make pitch 1 (D) the seventh scale degree. The distance between pitches 2 and 1 is 129 cents.[22] Played on the *sarons*, this interval sounds much closer to a half step than the interval between pitches 2 and 3, which is 153 cents. Thus, adjusting the melody to end on pitch 3 rather than pitch 2 comes closer to maintaining the whole step required for the Scottish melody. This appears to be the most critical change, as maintaining this intervallic sonority was important for the realization of "Mairi's Wedding." To clarify, Naga Mas did not maintain pitches nor change pitches in order to precisely duplicate the original melody. Their realization approximates the contour of the original melody within the *pelog* scale and maintains the sonority of the entire tune. Thus the audience was able to recognize "Mairi's Wedding" despite (and because of) the alteration of pitches.

There are also in "Mairi's Wedding" certain sections which include Javanese musical elements, specifically the *bonang* parts and the *alok*. The *bonang barung* and *bonang panerus*

play two distinct sections. The first is a highly mobile *imbal* (Fig. 17). While they do not include *kembangan* or "flowering" sections,[23] the parts adhere to the general rule of how the interlocking notes are split between the two instruments.[24] The second section is a statelier *mipil* or "walking" pattern during which the *bonang barung* initiates their part on the off-beat and the *bonang panerus* doubles that part (Fig. 18).

According to Pickvance, notes used for *imbal* and *mipil* patterns usually are dicated by the *seleh* note (for the former) and *balungan* notes (for the latter). These are difficult to determine for "Mairi's Wedding" because it is not clear what the *balungan* melody is for this piece; it could be the *slenthem* part, the *saron* part, the vocal part, etc.[25] Similarly, the *slenthem* melody seems to imply that pitchs 6 and 7 could function as *seleh* notes. The piece itself, however, leads directly into "Wong Donya" on pitch 3. It seems clear, then, that Naga Mas drew on their knowledge of Javanese *bonang* rhythmic patterns and the relationship of interlocking melodic patterns. They also used specific notes that reinforce the sonorities of "Mairi's Wedding" rather than referencing specific Javanese *imbal* melodic patterns. For example, *seleh* note 6 infers an *imbal* for which the *bonang barung* plays pitchs 3 and 6 and the *bonang panerus* plays 2 and 5. "Mairi's Wedding" uses pitch 4 instead of pitch 5, so the *bonang panerus* part adjusts accordingly (see Figs. 17 and 18)

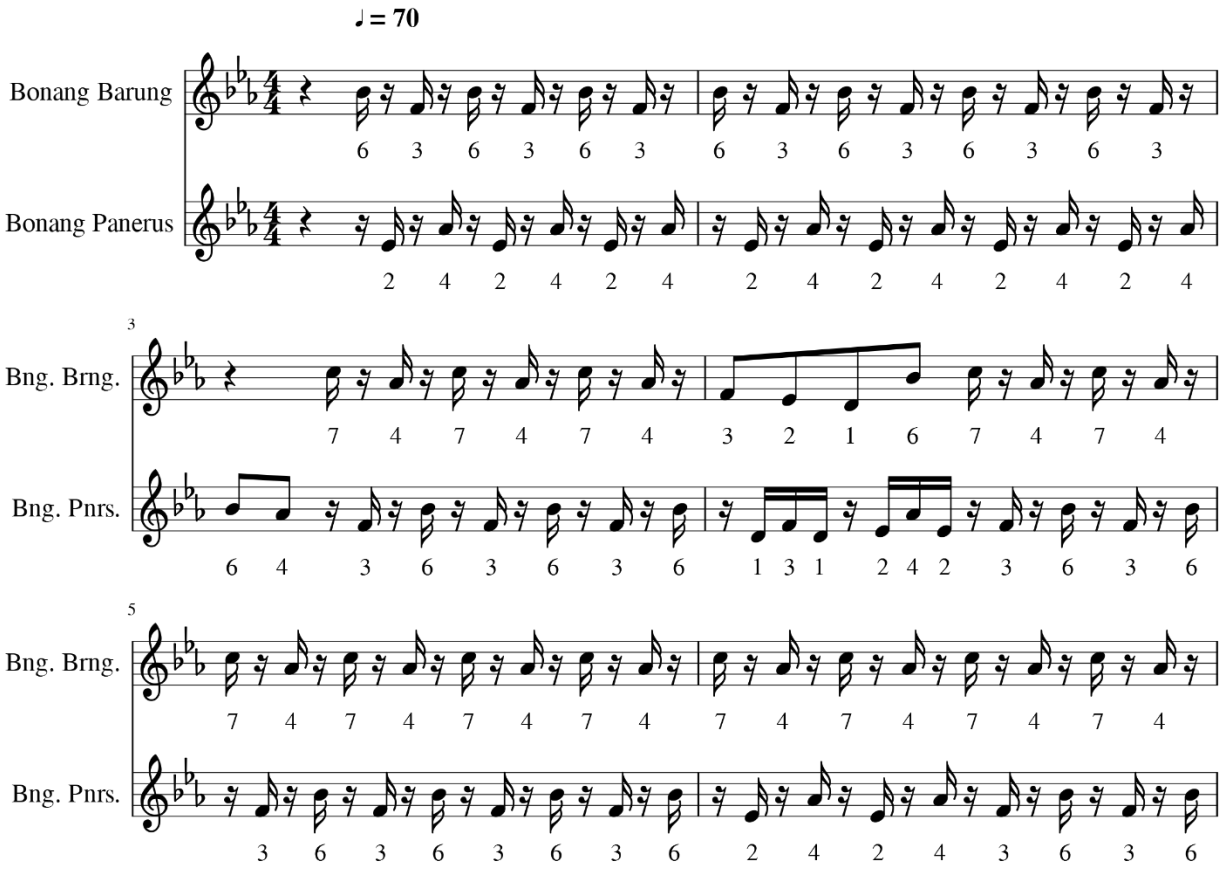


Figure 17 Bonang imbal excerpt from beginning of "Mairi's Wedding"

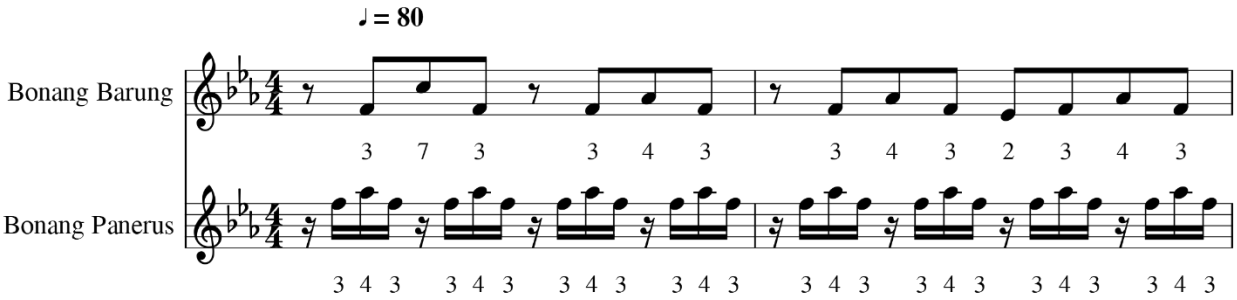
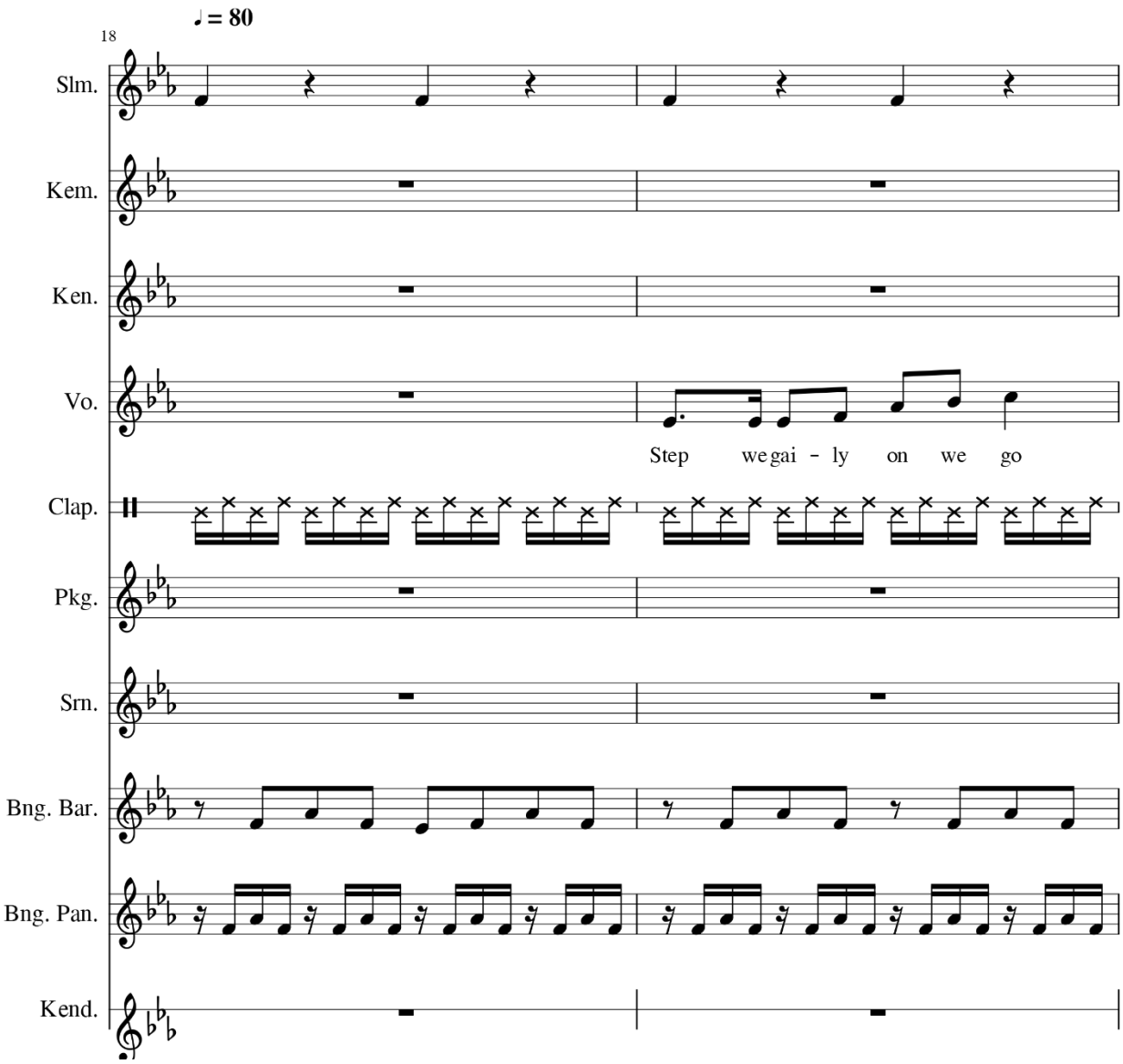


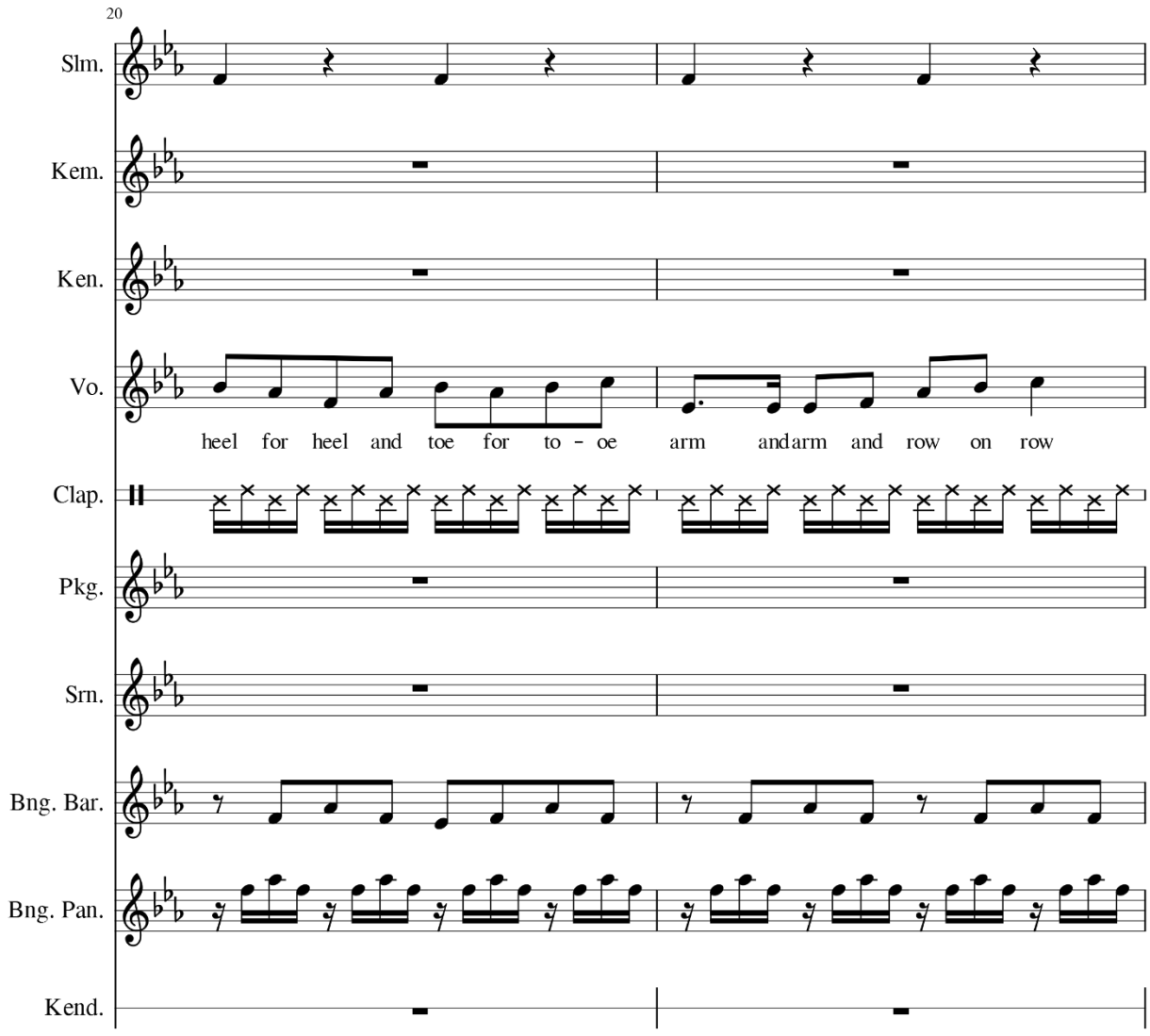
Figure 18 Bonang mipil excerpt from "Mairi's Wedding"

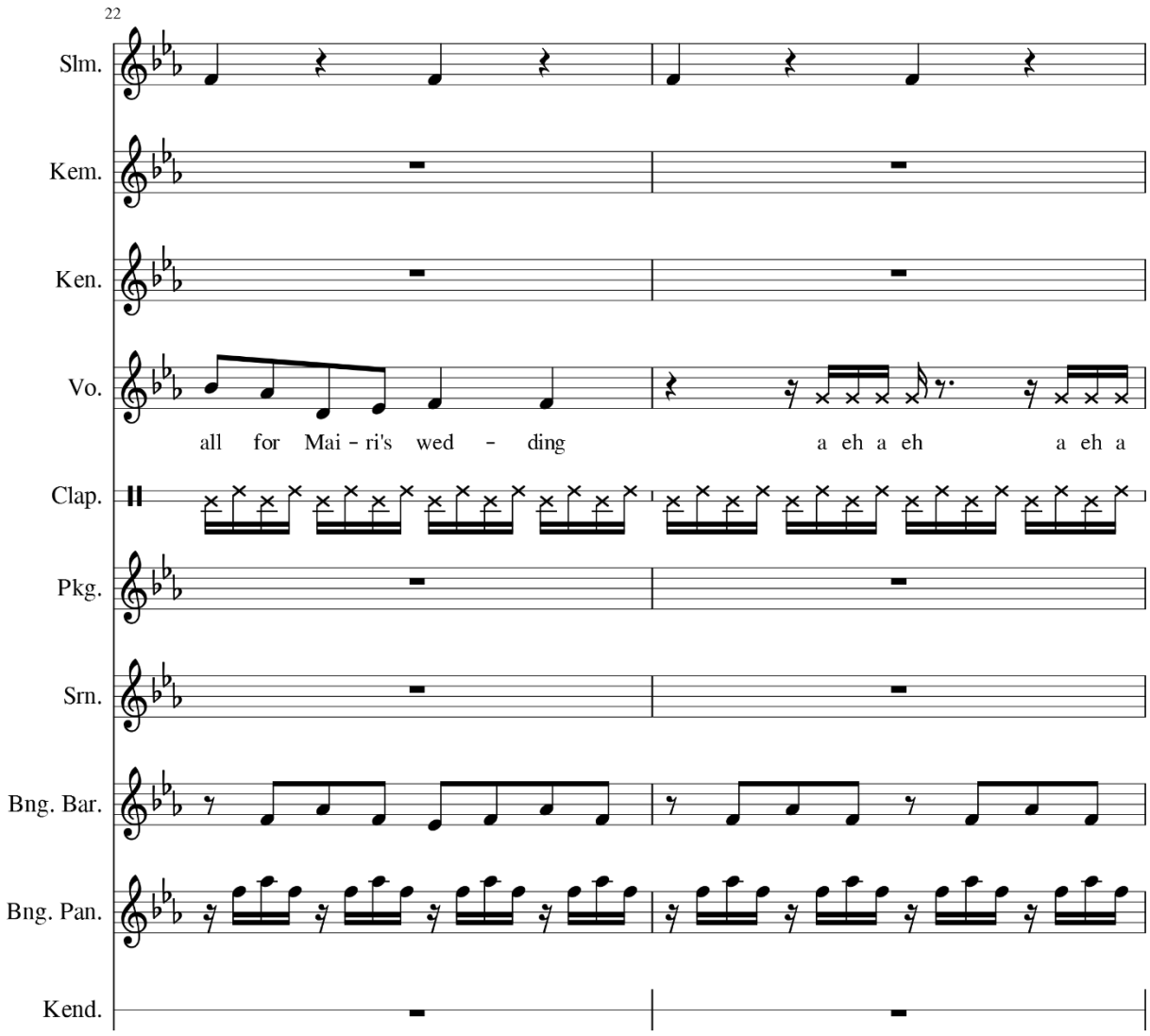
"Mairi's Wedding" also included an *alok*[26] at the end of the *bonangs*' walking pattern. In a conversation regarding authenticity in performance, van der Walt used the *alok* as an example

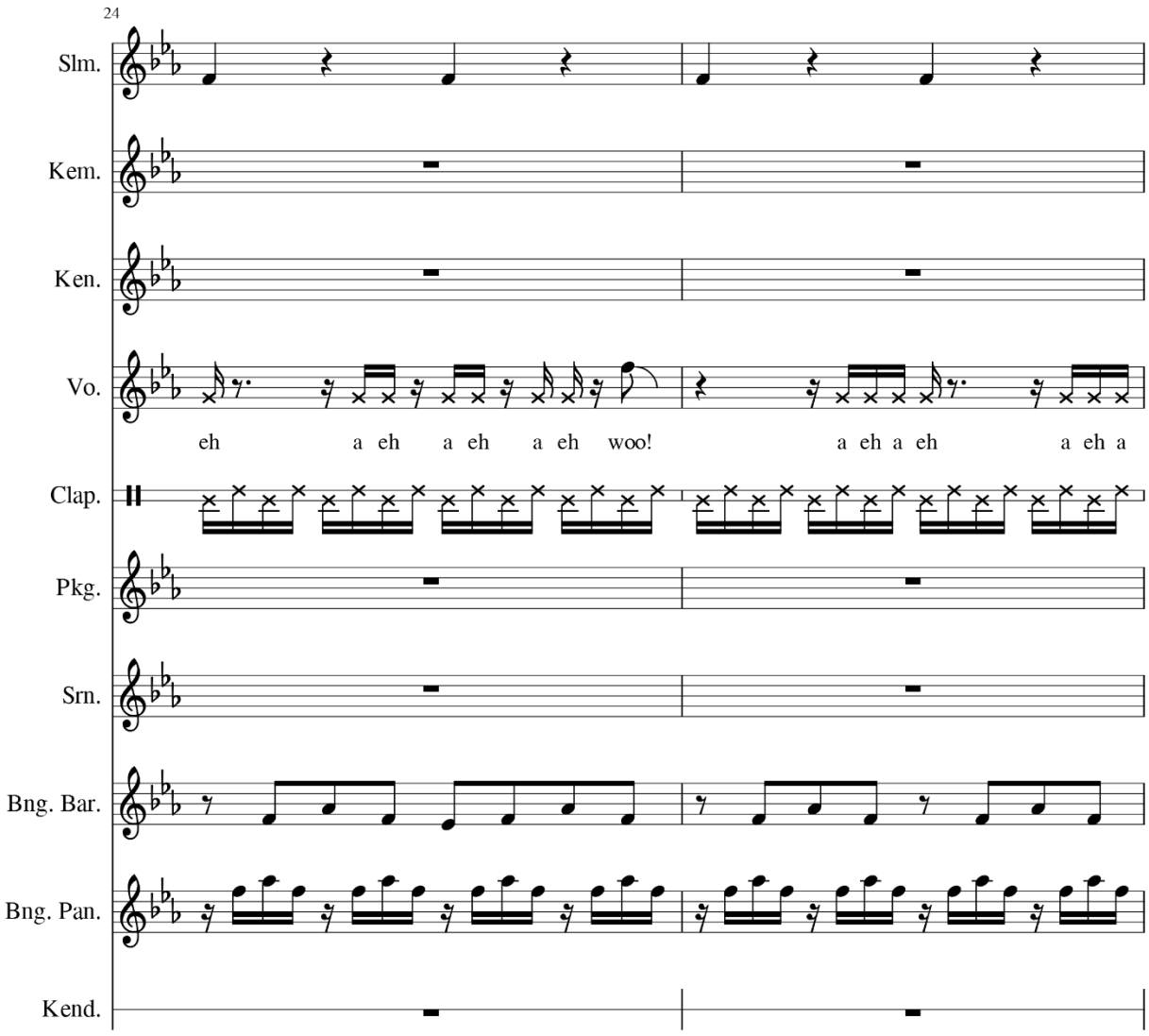
of something that Naga Mas members hesitated to perform for many years because of their lack of experience: "We used to get very hung up on stuff, [questioning] whether it was right or not" (p.c. Simon van der Walt 12/1/14). The group has since gained confidence, not only to perform the *alok* but to adapt it to different pieces and different kinds of enhancement. This is evident in Smith's connection of the *alok* to an appropriate exclamation used during *ceilidh*:[27] "In 'Mairi's Wedding,' this kind of whoop before the gong is becoming more of a 'who-op' [dramatic rise in pitch on the second syllable], and I think it's sort of migrating towards what would happen in a *ceilidh*. With 'Mairi's Wedding,' we'd go 'wee-uch' [same dramatic rise in pitch on the second syllable] which is very Scottish" (p.c. Margaret Smith 5/26/16).

In "Mairi's Wedding," the *alok* is performed by the *gerongan*, or male[28] chorus, who stop playing their instruments during this portion. These vocal phrases are also accompanied by *keplok* or clapping.[29] The musicians trade back and forth between verses of the Scottish tune and *alok* (Fig. 19). Smith commented that this was done to accommodate the potential clash between the vocal melody and the gamelan's pitches.[30] They addressed this by having most of the instruments drop out and by using the *alok* to trade off with the tune.


♩ = 80
18
Slm.
Kem.
Ken.
Vo.
Step we gai - ly on we go
Clap.
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.


20
Slm.
Kem.
Ken.
Vo.
heel for heel and toe for to - oe arm andarm and row on row
Clap.
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.


22
Slm.
Kem.
Ken.
Vo.
all for Mai - ri's wed - ding
a eh a eh
a eh a
Clap.
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.


24
Slm.
Kem.
Ken.
Vo.
eh a eh a eh a eh woo! a eh a eh a eh a
Clap.
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

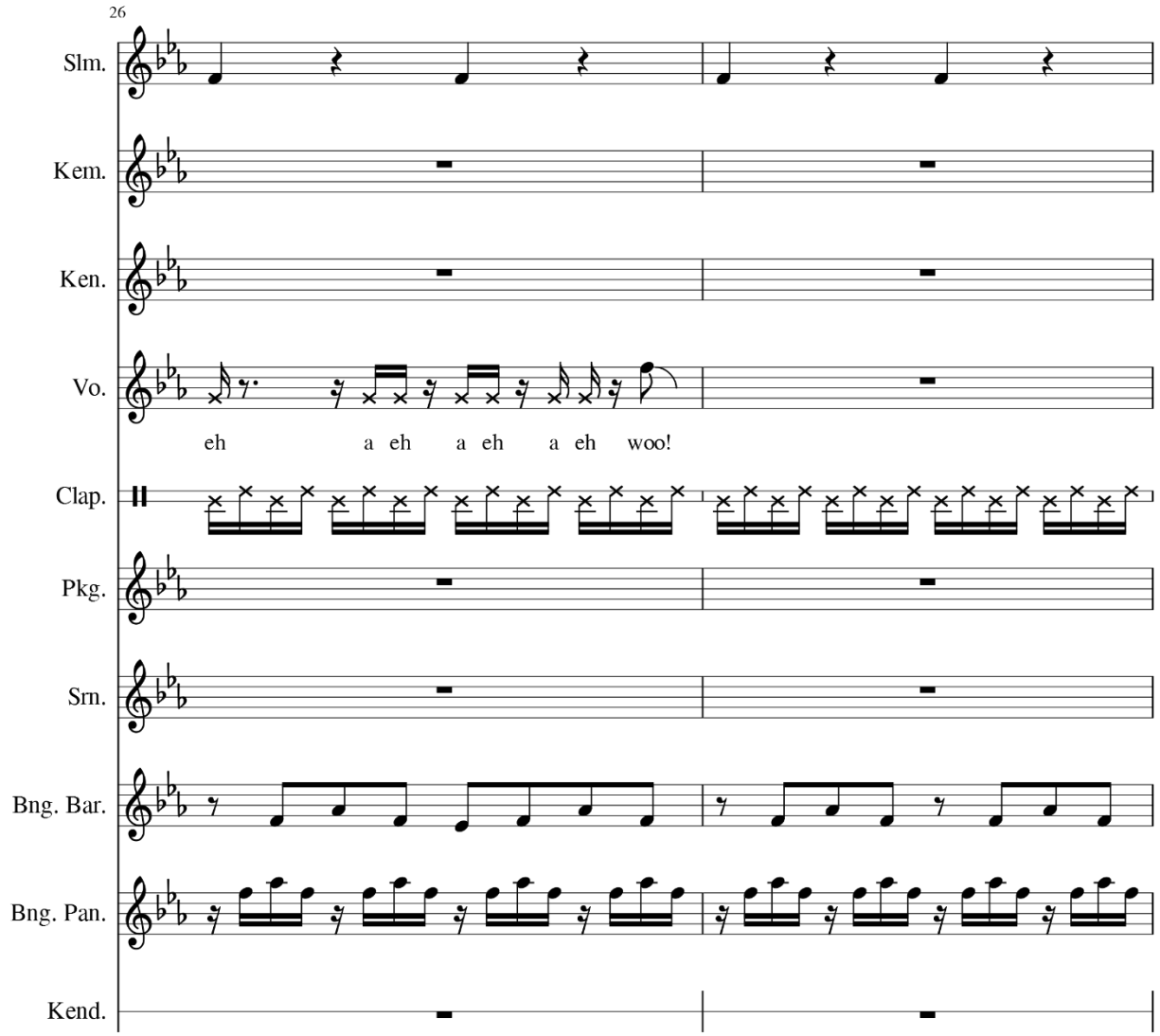


Figure 19 "Mairi's Wedding" lyrics and alok

Again, Naga Mas' treatment of the final pitch of "Mairi's Wedding" provides a smooth transition from that piece into "Wong Donya," the final piece in the *Suite*. "Wong Donya" begins on pitch 3 and contains some similar rhythmic patterns and motifs built around groups of notes used in the other two pieces. For example, the *bonangs*' *imbal* during "Wong Donya" repeats the ascending motif 6-7-2-3. This is the reversal of the *bonang imbal* for "Ca' the Yowes" which uses the descending motif 7-6-3 (see Figs. 20a and 20b). The scale for "Wong Donya" returns to

that of “Ca’ the Yowes:” 3, 5, 6, 7, (1), and 2. Here again, pitch 1 is used for color only by the *sarons*, similar to how pitch 1 was used only by the vocalist in “Ca’ the Yowes.” [31]

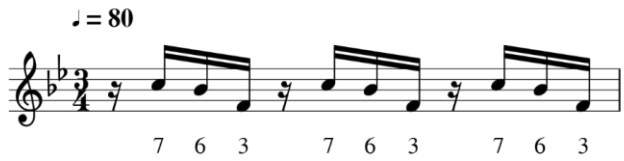


Figure 20a Bonang imbal for "Ca' the Yowes" (barung and panerus combined)

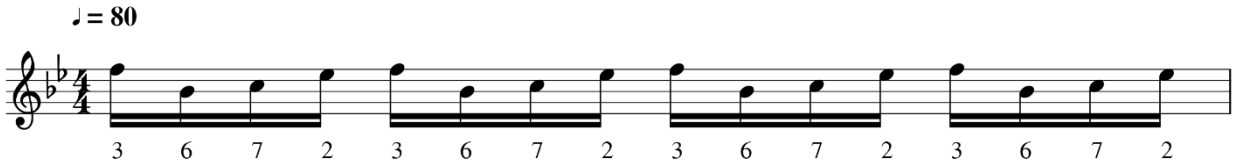


Figure 20b Bonang imbal for "Wong Donya" (barung and panerus combined)

Additionally, the opening pattern of “Wong Donya” is the diminution of the opening pattern to “Mairi’s Wedding” (see Figs. 21a and 21b).

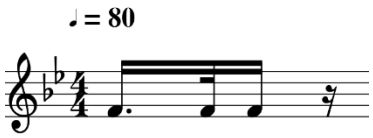


Figure 21a Opening pattern for "Wong Dunia"

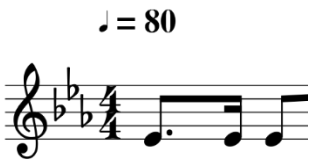


Figure 21b Opening pattern for "Mairi's Wedding"

Yet another aspect of musical continuity are the pitches and rhythms used in the *kempul* parts for “Mairi’s Wedding” and “Wong Donya” (see Figs. 22a and 22b).

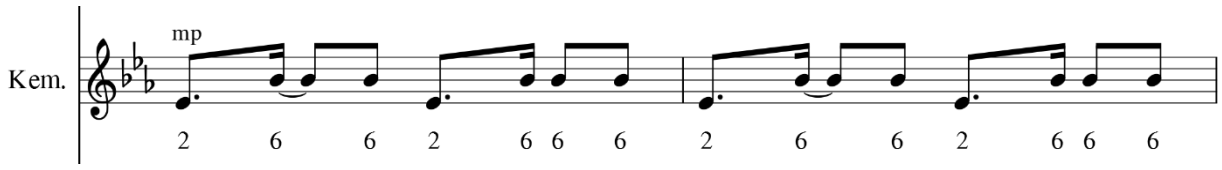


Figure 22a Kempul part for “Mairi's Wedding”

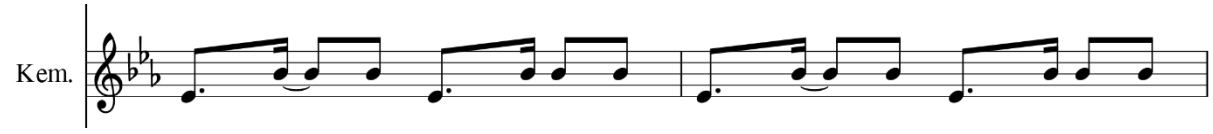


Figure 22b Kempul part for "Wong Donya"

From the above analyses, the *Lokananta Suite* strongly draws on and demonstrates connection as a coherence principles. This is achieved through various musical accommodations that allow for elements of Scottish and Javanese sounds and techniques and will be examined in more detail in a subsequent section. The next section, however, turns to another, oft-performed, piece to ascertain whether this coherence principle continues or whether new coherence principles are suggested.

“Gamelunk”

Written in 1997, a very short time after van der Walt joined Naga Mas, “Gamelunk” is a completely new work influenced by elements of jazz, blues, funk, and pop. The title itself is a portmanteau of gamelan and funk. It is written for “*pelog* gamelan and jazz soloist,” the soloist most often being a trumpet or flugelhorn player. Rhythmically, “Gamelunk” plays with the idea

of syncopation while remaining remarkably on the beat. The *kendhang* player supports this by establishing the tempo, then improvising various patterns that always include striking the *kendhang agung*[32] on beat one and playing a back beat on the *kendhang ketipung*[33] (see Appendix 1). Van der Walt credits songs "Marijuana" by Sly and the Revolutionaries, "Chameleon" by Herbie Hancock, and "Woodchopper's Ball" by Woody Herman and his orchestra as inspiration for his emphasis on repeated, on-beat notes (Fig. 24).

Van der Walt says of this piece that he uses "the *pelog* gamelan to fake various jazzy chords & riffs, based on the rough proximity to normal concert pitches."[34] He did this by realizing "Gamelunk" in F dorian, which utilizes the E-flat scale. The piece maintains a great deal of forward momentum by only rarely returning to the tonic pitch (F) and then not staying very long. For example, as each instrument enters in succession, they build on a general sound without strongly establishing F as the tonic home. Figure 23 shows the *bonang*, *slenthm*, and *demung* parts which repeat cyclically throughout the beginning and Section A of the piece.[35] These parts, along with the *sarons* (see Fig. 24), create the following rough chord progression: i IV9 IV9 v7 i. This is in keeping with the general movement of blues chord progressions which emphasize the tonic and subdominant. The i chords are only briefly heard on beat one and the and of beat four in each measure. The driving pitch 7s (C) in the *saron* and *peking* contribute to the i chord but also reinforce the ninth of the subdominant throughout the majority of the measure. The A-natural (pitch 5 in *pelog*) can function as a sus 4 that resolves up to the B-flat although in conversation van der Walt intimated that this note was more for melodic interest and color than structure: "Certainly when I play [the trumpet solo], I find it hard to make the A natural work melodically" (p.c. J. Simon van der Walt 6/28/17).

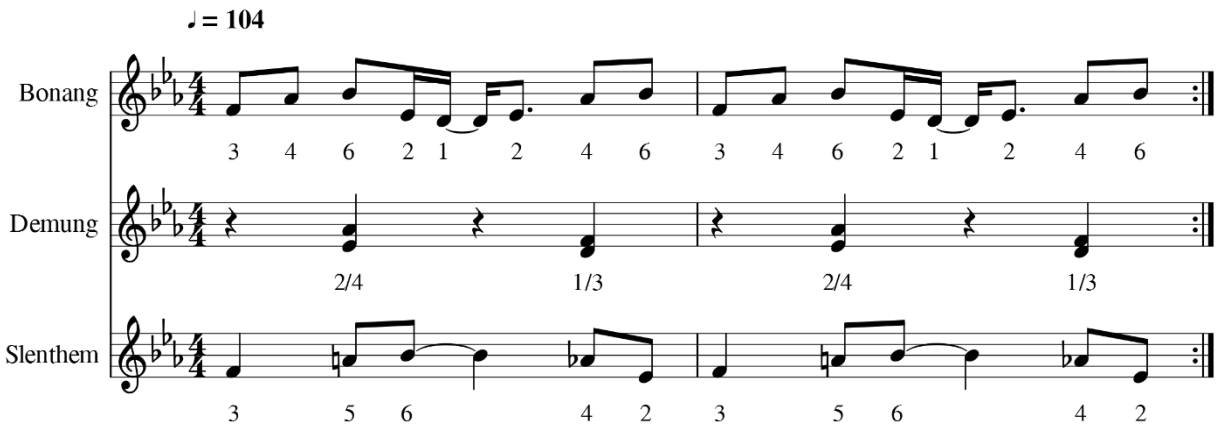


Figure 23 Bonang, demung, and slenthem parts for "Gamelunk" with cipher notes. Repeated throughout

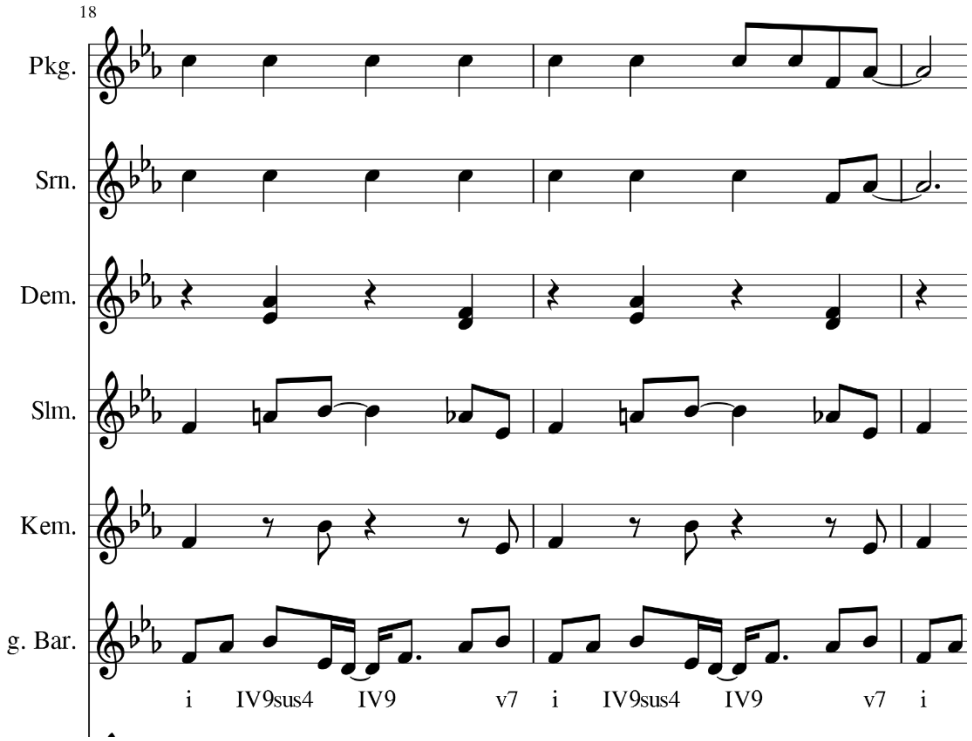
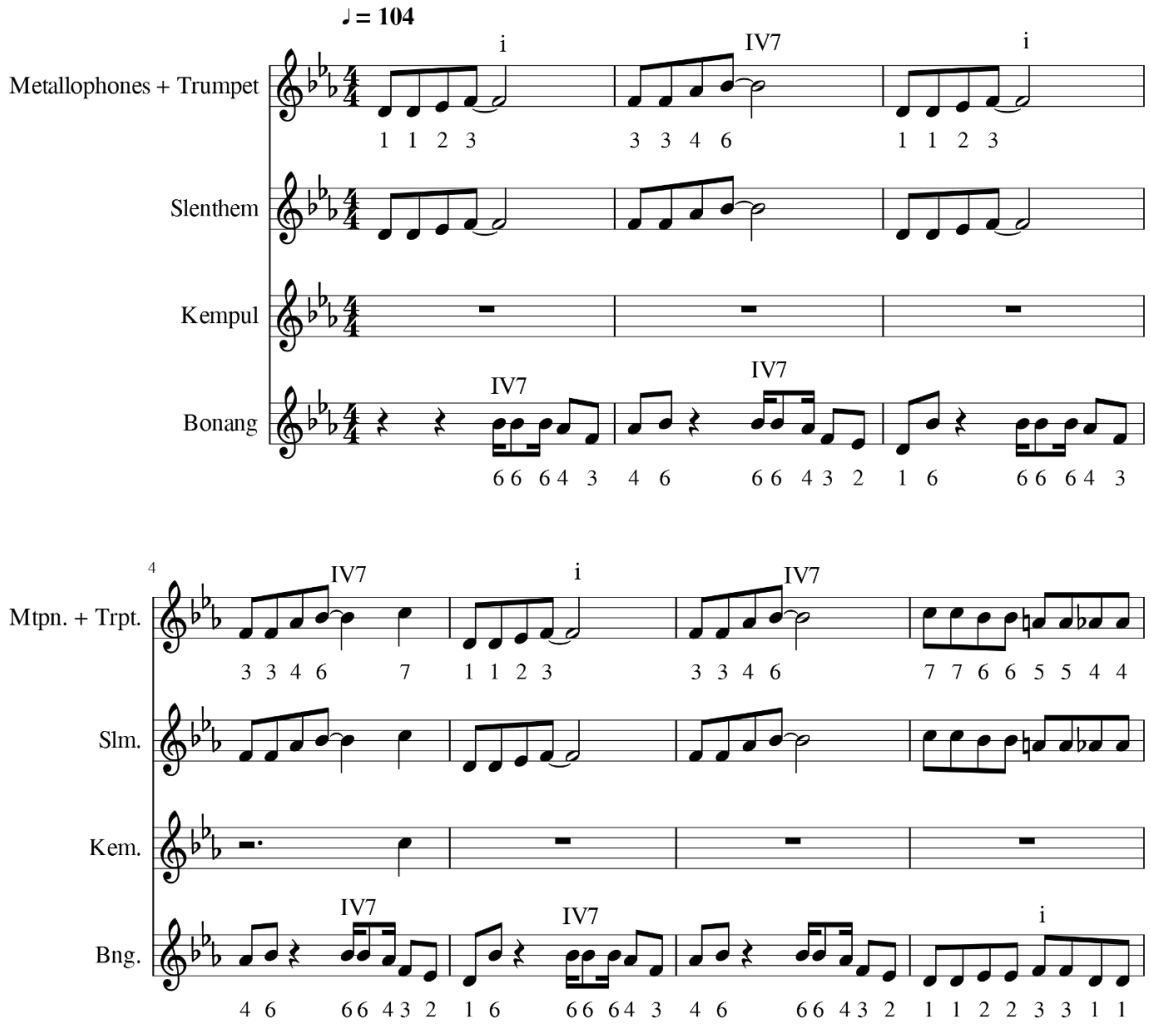


Figure 24 Part of section A of "Gamelunk" with chord progressions. This repeats throughout Section A.

Section B (Fig. 25), which includes an overlapping call and response between the metallophones/B-flat trumpet and the *bonang*, changes the melody but maintains the drive from i

to IV7 and back to i. Van der Walt notes that the initial three-note motive references "the start of the Zawinul tune 'Birdland'" (p.c. J. Simon van der Walt 6/30/16; see mm. 1 and 2 in Fig. 25).[36] He also describes this call and response as reminiscent of Herbie Hancock's "Chameleon," with "a balance between upward-striving blues phrases answered by a downward moving one" (ibid.).



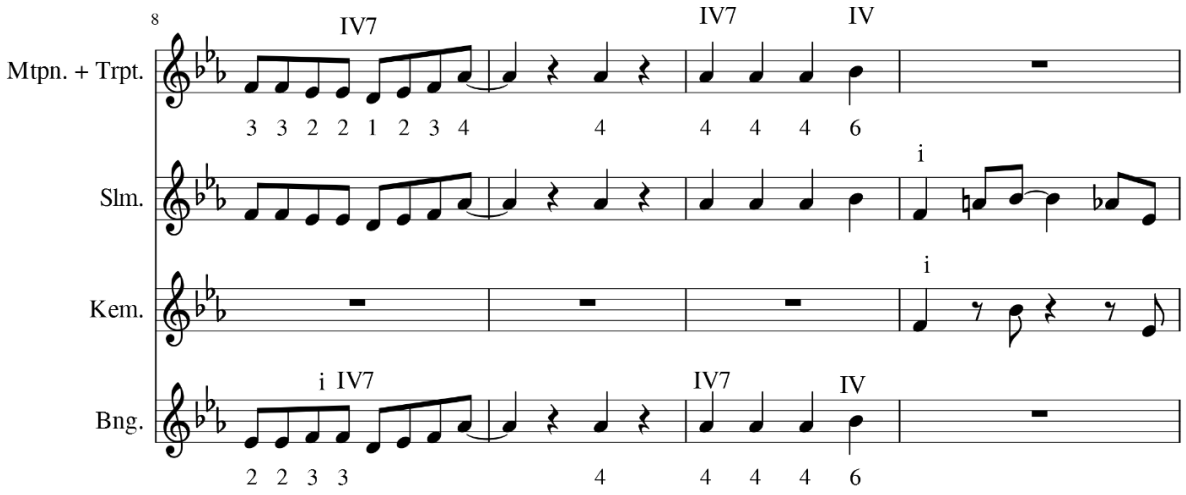


Figure 25 Section B of "Gamelunk" played by the metallophones, bonang, and B-flat trumpet. Suggested chord progressions are notated above each stave, cipher notes are notated below each stave.

Additionally, in his cipher notated score (see Appendix 1), van der Walt wrote a counter melody for the *bonang* which features pitches 7 (C) and 1 (D) against the metallophones' 4 (A-flat) and 6 (B-flat). For the performance I transcribed however, this part of the *bonang's* melodic line is either completely overwhelmed by the metallophones or the *bonang* player changed his part to play in unison with the metallophones (see mm. 9 and 10 of Fig. 25). The result, which is sonically quite different from what van der Walt originally wrote, pounds repeatedly on the seventh of the IV chord (A-flat) before resolving up to the tonic of the IV (B-flat) on beat four. The i chord returns on beat one but because it is played by the *slenthem* and *kempul*—which both have a softer, mellower timbre—it is not emphasized as strongly (see mm. 11 of Fig. 25).

After Sections A and B are established, the *sarons* and *peking* drop out, leaving the trumpet to improvise over the *kendhang*, *bonangs*, *demung*, and *slenthem*. After sixteen bars of trumpet improvisation, the trumpet and *kendhang* trade twos, briefly alternating improvised solos of two bars each, before the *kendhang* signals the rest of the gamelan instruments to enter again. The emphasis placed on the IV7 is also apparent at the end of the piece. Instead of resolving to i

(F), the melody ends as described above with a unison melody reinforcing the A-flat before resolving to the B-flat on the last note.[37]

In "Gamelunk," van der Walt establishes aural connections between jazz, blues, funk, and gamelan through the influence of specific pieces and by using the sonic capabilities of the gamelan instruments in the context of a jazz piece that features specific soloists. The next section explores this particular coherence principle, in terms of both the *Lokananta Suite* and "Gamelunk," in more detail.

Connection as Coherence Principle in the Lokananta Suite and "Gamelunk"

Both the *Lokananta Suite* and "Gamelunk" evidence connection as a coherence principle. The connections for the former are internal (among the pieces in performance) and external (between the pieces and Scotland or Java). One example of this is the interactive play and suggestion of *pathet barang* in "Ca' the Yowes." The apparent use of certain aspects of this *pathet*—namely the scale, range, and focus on pitches 2 and 6 and the avoidance of pitch 1—evidence knowledge of Javanese modal theory. Smith also explains that the *slenthem* ostinato or "riff" (Fig. 13) is one she has used "quite a lot" previously in other pieces. This riff both supports *pathet barang* but also connects "Ca' the Yowes" musically to previous musical creations devised by Smith. The subsequent building of the other instrumental parts (Fig. 15), as well as her proclivity to end on pitch 2 (E-flat) and the Scottish tune's own idiosyncrasies, facilitate the suggestion of *pathet barang*. Their time of performance within the *wayang* also allowed for *pathet* flexibility. Whereas with other sections of *wayang*, *pathet* creates important sonic contexts (see Pickvance 2005), "In *Lokananta*, Naga Mas was assigned the Limbukan section, where *pathet* is not strictly in operation . . . We took liberties in the *pathet* structure here" (p.c.

Matthew Cohen 6/30/15). Thus, their playful suggestion of *pathet barang* connects the Scottish folk tune "Ca' the Yowes" to a Javanese soundscape.

Other uses of connection as coherence principle are found in the *bonang* parts and the *alok* used in "Mairi's Wedding." Here, the musical structure facilitates both the Scottish tune and specific Javanese gamelan performance practices. As van der Walt's and Smith's comments regarding the initial hesitation and migration of the *alok* suggest, it is possible that, in order to include the *alok*—a part of Javanese gamelan performance that Naga Mas members perceive to be important—it must first be connected to a more familiar, Scottish exclamation.

There are relatively few connections between Javanese gamelan musical forms/practices and "Gamelunk," and these, like the reminiscence of "Parisuka" in "Ca' the Yowes," may be more coincidental than intended. As mentioned above, van der Walt created "Gamelunk" only a year after joining Naga Mas. He had not yet studied in Java, and thus, as he says, was probably playing more with the sonic capabilities of the instruments than specific Javanese gamelan structures or practices. The most general connection is the overall cyclical repetition of phrases, particularly in the *bonang*, *slenthem*, *demung*, and *kempul*. These do not draw on any particular gamelan form (i.e., *lancaran* or *ladrang*), but they do establish a repeating melodic structure over which other instruments improvise more elaborate melodies.

The most prominent of the apparent Javanese musical connections is the use of repeated notes as a modified *gangsaran*[38] although van der Walt credits these repeated, on-beat notes more to jazz and funk influence than Javanese gamelan music. The ability of performers to play indefinitely, guided by *kendhang* cues through the different sections, may be a reference to Javanese gamelan music, although this is also characteristic of jazz music,[39] where a piece may be prolonged by individuals taking solos. This does happen in the trading twos section. The

trumpet improvisation is also more in keeping with jazz, as it is featured prominently rather than existing as just another voice in the overall texture of the gamelan (i.e., *rebab* or *gender*). This, along with the chord progressions and references to specific pieces, ties "Gamelunk" more closely to jazz than to traditional Javanese gamelan music.

This does not negate the concept of connection between jazz and Javanese gamelan, however. Van der Walt consciously draws connections between how Javanese gamelan and jazz musicians improvise—in terms of working within a specific and recognized framework and with riffs, melodies, and patterns (*cengkok*), what van der Walt calls "little pieces of idiom," that help identify the piece and genre (see Figs. 27 and 28 for examples). He explains that, for him:

> It was a huge step forward . . . when I realized, as a jazz musician, I needed actually [sings a jazzy riff (see Fig. 27)] . . . Just about every jazz musician in Scotland that I know at some point or other in a solo will go [sings "If I Only Had a Brain" (see Fig. 28)] . . . or bits of Donna Lee or bits of lots of improvisations . . . they're tiny jazz compositions; they're little phrases; they're little pieces of idiom. And actually what you need is to catch that idiom . . . And my guess is that perhaps in a similar sort of way. . . my instinct is, is that probably what that actually is, is a really expert *bonang* player . . . and the idea being that he is just a musician who is full of gamelan music and full of phrases and full of *bonang* music, and full of *gambang* and full of *rebab*. And at any point in the piece is likely to draw on that huge repertoire of phrases . . . and I know, I'm almost sure they'd be quotations or references . . . and I know jazz musicians do a similar thing . . . it's about knowing phrases, and it's about the context and the ways in which you use those idioms and phrases, and it's a really difficult thing to capture coming from outside because as a learning jazz musician, it's hard to grasp that. And I think as learning gamelan musicians, because it takes years and years of experience to actually be that idiomatic and realize that you can all of a sudden pull something out of your mind and drop it right in there, and it'll be appropriate or funny. (p.c. J. Simon van der Walt 10/15/15)

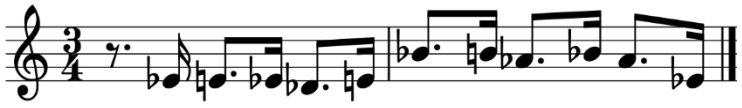


Figure 26 Jazz riff sung by van der Walt

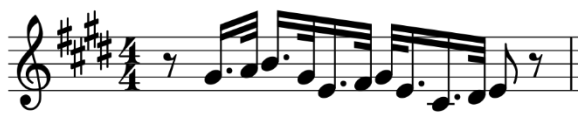


Figure 27 "If I Only Had a Brain" sung by van der Walt

While he did not vocalize any specific gamelan phrases, as he did the jazz riffs in this conversation, van der Walt does draw on these idioms when composing and improvising. His recognition of certain idiomatic gamelan rhythmic and melodic patterns asserted itself during an improvisatory session at one of Naga Mas' beginner's workshops: not being a very capable improviser myself, I began playing a rather repetitive rhythmic pattern I had often played in Balinese gamelan. Van der Walt heard this and responded by improvising a *sangsih* pattern to my *polos*.[40] Therefore, while "Gamelunk" may sonically exhibit more pieces of jazz idiom than of gamelan, van der Walt nevertheless finds connections in how music in each genre is perceived and used for improvisation.

Thus Naga Mas used various musical elements in the *Lokananta Suite* and "Gamelunk" to not only establish connection, but also to create new pieces which define Naga Mas' positionality and experiences. Changing the pitch durations in "Ca' the Yowes" is in line with more contemporary versions of the piece. Changing the meter from duple to triple indicates knowledge of both contemporary Scottish versions (Sileas and MacLean) and of idiosyncratic Javanese compositions (Martopangrawit). Changing the ending pitches of "Ca' the Yowes" and "Mairi's Wedding" served multiple functions, not the least of which was to establish a seamless flow from piece to piece in keeping with how suites of Javanese gamelan pieces transition from one to the other. The engagement between *pelog pathet barang* and the Scottish tune in "Ca' the Yowes," the attention to intervallic sonority in "Mairi's Wedding," and the consistency through

scale and rhythm in all three pieces suggests a sophisticated engagement of elements from both musical cultures.

Likewise, "Gamelunk's" use of jazz idioms speaks to other, cosmopolitan and globalized connections and influences. Van der Walt draws inspiration from specific American ("Birdland," "Chameleon," and "Woodchopper's Ball") and Jamaican ("Marijuana") songs. "Gamelunk" plays with F dorian mode, creating jazz- and blues-inflected forward momentum through the drive from i (F) to IV9 (B-flat). His music is organized in relatively symmetrical phrases that he identifies as "very jazz/pop/funk" (p.c. J. Simon van der Walt 6/30/16). This piece is also not only part of Naga Mas' performance repertoire, it has been shared with international musicians. During a *klenengan* in 2015, van der Walt and members of Naga Mas taught and played "Gamelunk" with visiting musicians in *Soeryo Soemirat*. Additionally, in 2016, Gamelan *Sari Pandhawa*—a Javanese gamelan performing ensemble based in Eugene, OR—contacted van der Walt regarding their use of "Gamelunk."[41] Thus the life stories that the *Lokananta Suite* and "Gamelunk" tell are of growth, depth, and an interest in connection over strict imitation.

Initiation and Composition: Margaret Smith and J. Simon van der Walt on Musical Creation, Creativity, and Influence

Naga Mas' approach to creativity favors the interaction of Scottish, Western, and Javanese practices. In this section, I explore Smith's and van der Walt's attitudes and ideas regarding the roles of the creator(s) and musicians in music making—particularly in terms of initiating and facilitating creativity—using the above pieces as examples. I then use the suggested coherence principle—creative communal contribution—as a point of departure to

consider the complex relationships between agency, creativity, and influence in the production of intercultural music.

Margaret Smith as Musical Initiator

When speaking with members of Naga Mas about the *Lokananta Suite*, everyone identified Margaret Smith as the arranger. When asked whether this was true, Smith laughingly said, "Loosely, very loosely . . . I'd say John Pawson's[42] a lot to blame for this. It's a whole combination, there's no one person who wrote it out or anything" (p.c. Margaret Smith 5/26/16). She continued:

> Well, you know the background of "Mairi's Wedding." It was, we arranged it for Kath[43] . . . "Ca' the Yowes" has been a very, very loose arrangement, always. I've just had a, there was a bass line and a song. And I used to sometimes write out suggested parts and every time, any time we've used it, whether it's part of that suite or other things, it's been semi-improvised and semi-devised with the people that moment and who's doing it, so there's no definitive anything. And I think that we just had various piles of music and as we met with John for the *wayang*, we started playing around with what would go with what, and I actually can't remember how those three got put together. (ibid)

This last statement was confirmed by van der Walt, who commented, "Yowes and Wedding make an obvious Scottish pairing, and the idea to follow with Wong Donya . . . just sort of popped out as it seemed to work musically" (p.c. J. Simon van der Walt 9/27/16).

Smith continued to credit and include other people as she described the process of realizing the *Suite*:

> I think it was probably an influence of John Pawson saying, 'Well, that can go into that. That can go there.' And Signy, I mean Signy's often good at suggesting things like that, you know, like, what can lead into what. And I remember the "Mairi's Wedding," cuz we actually started to sing that as well at the *wayang*, which, I remember there was a whole moment where, I just couldn't work out in my head, it's like how could we ever sing this cuz we're playing all these other notes? . . . And I remember sitting there with John Pawson going, 'I don't think that can work!' and he's going, 'Mags, just try it. Just try it.' [laughs] And I was like, 'I don't think it's going to work!' Um, and then we tried it, and it was fine . . . Yeah, I really think it was just like a process of rehearsals and starting to join

> things together. And it would have been a combination of people in the room suggesting things is how it really came about. But I cannot, *cannot* claim ownership for it. I think the only thing is that I, you know, I guess I initiated the arrangement of Kath's wedding thing and dared to put that tune on it. And "Ca' the Yowes," you know, it was a song that I'd brought to the group and said, you know, I think we can do this, but it was all quite loose. And how it ended up with "Wong Donya," I have no idea! Who put that there? . . . I shall not be blamed! (ibid; emphasis in original)

While Smith made use of several coherence principles identified in the previous chapter (i.e., accident management and opportunity as well connecting gamelan to other musical experiences), community participation is also an important coherence principle that comes strongly to the fore in her facilitation of musical creation. As a community musician, Smith views *community*, rather than music, to be the artistic medium in which she works, and her comments regarding the *Lokananta Suite* reflect this. She fairly consistently uses the pronoun "we" and includes other people when talking about the process of realization. Her description of the exchange with Pawson underscores Smith's advocacy of other people's contributions to a finished work. Even though Naga Mas was working with very little rehearsal time prior to the performance and Smith had more experience with the music, she was willing to trust another person's judgement enough to allow him to make significant creative changes to the piece. This is further emphasized by the fact that Smith calls her written work "suggestions" and reiterates her inability to claim ownership of the piece.

At no time does Smith mention the fact that "Ca' the Yowes" and "Mairi's Wedding," to say nothing of "Wong Donya," were written by composers tens if not hundreds of years ago. Being a Scottish community musician and storyteller, Smith is aware of the historical backgrounds of "Ca' the Yowes" and "Mairi's Wedding." It is less clear how aware she is of "Wong Donya's" history,[44] but she does know something of how the piece has been treated. Her decision to not place focus on these histories does not deny them, but it does reveal something of

her own focus and values when it comes to musical creation. Thus, it is not because these were previously composed works that Smith denies sole ownership. It is because of the collective work done by members of Naga Mas to realize these pieces. The only credit Smith is willing to give herself is that of "initiat[ing] the arrangement" of "Mairi's/Kath's Wedding" and of bringing "Ca' the Yowes" to Naga Mas and saying, "I think we can do this."

It is for these reasons that I argue that, in this instance, "initiator" and "motivator" are more useful and valid descriptions of Smith than "composer." Ginevra House notes difficulties which lie in the conceptualization and use of the English term composer, writing "[t]he term . . . itself is limited, too fixed in its meaning, and incapable of reflecting the full spectrum of creative practices involved in generating new music" (2014, 115-16). While not typically used to describe creators of music, "initiator" and "motivator" nonetheless may suggest the fuller spectrum of creative possibilities denied by composer. One may be called an initiator without claiming sole creative responsibility for a work. Motivator works in the sense of encouraging others' contributions to a collective musical work. Because of Smith's attitudes toward communal contribution to music making, we may also consider the *Lokananta Suite* to be the result of Naga Mas' mutual creative efforts with Smith taking the role of initiator and motivator.

J. Simon van der Walt as Composer

In writing and speaking about his piece, "Gamelunk," van der Walt generally takes both a loving and rueful tone: "In some ways ['Gamelunk' is] my most succesful [sic] and often performed piece . . . Purists may throw their hands up in horror at this, and they may well be right; nevertheless, the result is a popular and accessible number."[45] It is unclear, however, if the purists van der Walt is referring to here represent jazz or gamelan. As a 30-year jazz musician

and 20-year gamelan musician, van der Walt has a great deal of musical experience to draw from when creating music. He comments that "This is what happens when I, you sort of sit down at the gamelan instruments but you also got your, you know, instead of bringing my gamelan with me, I brought my jazz with me. So it's there, so I can bring my jazz out and that can be on the gamelan instruments . . . That's kind of what I do as a composer. I've got all this stuff, and then it can come out in another way (p.c. 10/15/15). He writes elsewhere:

> I've always been a composer: or at any rate, a creator of music. At university I made up ragtime tunes on the guitar and bass lines on the synthesiser I built. In my days as a gigging jazz/pop/reggae trumpet player, I was the guy who came up with the horn charts and wrote them out. At Napier university, I became a joint first study in trumpet and composition, and came away with an LLCM in both disciplines.[46]

Connections also exist between van der Walt's philosophy on the meaning of music and his compositional approach. In several conversations, van der Walt explained that he perceives music not as sound[47] but rather as something that people do. Music is "people doing musical things together . . . we're musicking together . . . and this is where I came up with the idea of the sound of gamelan music or the sound of jazz music being an epiphenomenon, being a coincidental thing that happens to happen" (ibid). For van der Walt, music is performative: "It's not something that *means* something, it's something that *does* something. And it does it now in the moment of being played, and that now has become, for me, the most important moment of music" (p.c. 12/1/14; emphasis in original).

Van der Walt uses the term composer several times in reference to himself but problematizes it by seeming to differentiate between composer and "creator of music." While he does not elaborate on this or explain how he differentiates the two, their use in such close proximity to each other—"I've always been a composer: or at any rate, a creator of music"—is telling. It would be redundant if van der Walt were using these terms interchangeably. This

seems to suggest that van der Walt recognizes a difference and perhaps also recognizes the limitations to the term put forth by House.

Despite the connections he draws between gamelan and jazz and the emphasis he places on music as an active thing, van der Walt's approach to musical participation and communal contribution is different from that of Smith. He does not avail himself of the pronoun "we" the way Smith did. Instead, he makes use of "I" and "you." This comes out in a thought-provoking way when van der Walt explains his process for "Gamelunk:"

> This is what happens when I, you sort of sit down at the gamelan instruments but you also got your, you know, instead of bringing my gamelan with me, I brought my jazz with me.

By switching from "I" to "you" in the first part of the sentence, van der Walt brings the listener into the process, not as fellow-contributor but rather as purveyor of van der Walt's own ideas. It is assumed that you, as listener, agree with van der Walt's proposition. It also suggests that any listener may be able to put themselves in van der Walt's shoes and bring their own individual musical knowledge (be it jazz, Western classical, rock, pop, Afrobeat, etc.) to gamelan composition. By switching back from "you" to "I" in the later portion of the sentence, van der Walt reclaims his identity and ideas as his own. The implication here is that fellow musicians can contribute to van der Walt's creative process but more in the moments of performance rather than in the moments of creation.

This is clear if one considers the proportion of improvised soloing in "Gamelunk." In the full transcription, the combined trumpet and *kendhang* solos account for 28 measures of the total 135; here, improvisation makes up roughly 20% of the whole piece. If one considers just the length of a single iteration of Sections A and B, however, the improvisation sections become more significant. In contrast to the 28 measures of improv, Sections A and B together make up

only 25 measures. This demonstrates the importance of the soloists' creative contribution to the piece in performance.

One may argue that "Gamelunk" tells a life story that is more indicative of a single composer's values and beliefs than those of the community which plays it. However, given the piece's longevity, the fact that Naga Mas continued to perform "Gamelunk" during times when van der Walt was absent from the group, the contributions individual members make to the piece through improvisation, the fact that the piece has become international, and the fact that van der Walt's compositional approaches are shared by other members of Naga Mas, it is safe to view "Gamelunk" as an example of this affinity community gamelan's approach to musical creation. Indeed, both the *Lokananta Suite* and "Gamelunk" are indicative of the many ways members of Naga Mas process connections and creative communal contribution.

Creativity and Influence

While the previous sections explored Smith's and van der Walt's thoughts regarding musical creation, this section focuses on the idea of creativity itself as well as the effect of influence. These also function as coherence principles in Naga Mas' music. Sternberg and Lubart define creativity as "the ability to produce work that is both novel (i.e., original, unexpected) and appropriate (i.e., useful, adaptive concerning task constraints)" (1999, 3). Innovative culture bearers may be praised for reimagining old traditions in a contemporary way or accused of neglecting or abandoning cultural identity. Western influence, as evidenced through the comments in Chapter 1 (see pg. 11), is not always seen as positively creative (i.e., putting something new in the world). At best, it is "pale pastiche" and at worst a corrupting influence.

When Westerners represent non-Western music and culture, both to themselves and to an audience, questions arise regarding appropriation, as well as appropriateness (this will be discussed further in Chapter 6). When Westerners create fusion works which combine elements of different cultures, many of the same concerns apply, particularly those concerning inequality, cultural theft and/or loss, and the institution of "a new form of cultural imperialism" (Sorrell 1992, 68). Examining Naga Mas' creative musical output does not solve these problems, but it does bring to light specific examples of creative musical production by Westerners who play and use non-Western instruments. This allows us to begin to address Barry Drummond's judgment: "Aren't we in the West . . . in some ways cultureless, so that we appropriate other cultures? I mean we appropriate everything" (Mason 2014).

Both Smith and van der Walt evidence different approaches to creativity. On the one hand, Smith notes the importance of process as she maintains that each iteration of a piece is/will be different based on the knowledge and experience of the players. In contrast, van der Walt's creativity is a bit more "Westernized" in that he, as sole composer, creates a product based on his own knowledge and experiences. While the compositional process is affirming for him, Naga Mas members have less to do with that part in the realization of the piece. However, van der Walt also seems more open to improvisation in the moment of performance while Smith favors communal input on the creative process. Once a decision is made, she prefers to stick to it. Smith related an amusing anecdote explaining how van der Walt and Jon Keliehor demanded their right to improvise on a musical piece that Naga Mas had just created. She wanted them to stick to the agreed upon melody, but they insisted on improvising. This is in keeping with van der Walt's attitude toward the performativity of music and the moment of performance—the "now"—being the most important time.[48]

In this sense, we can see how both Smith and van der Walt view creativity in the context of Naga Mas. While Smith tackles musical creation from a communal standpoint, van der Walt manages musical creation from an improvisatory and performative standpoint. These offer two different notions of where (participation in) creation takes place: either before (for Smith) or during (for van der Walt) moments of performance. Both Smith and van der Walt want others to participate creatively in how the piece "goes;" it is just that they ask for that participation at different points in the process. For Smith and van der Walt, as well as their fellow Naga Mas members, creativity is tied to musics and life experiences that have influenced them.

Influence, at its most basic, is "the capacity or power of persons or things to be a compelling force on or produce effects on the actions, behavior, opinions, etc., of others."[49] While my focus here is on influence, I am compelled to also briefly mention intertextuality as many scholars have suggested interrelations between the two. Julia Kristeva, who coined the term intertextuality in the 1960s, stipulated that, "Intertextuality suggests that each text and each instance of reading a text is open to interpretation by active, individual and empowered readers" (in Taylor and Symonds 2014, 203).[50]

I mention intertextuality and bring up this distinction in light of implications that influence is a facet of intertextuality (Klein 2005; Alfaro 1996) or that they exist as two opposing but not mutually exclusive ends of a single spectrum (Culler 1976). Indeed, Harold Bloom's notion that "*Influence* . . . means that there are no texts, but only relationships between texts" (1975, 3; my emphasis) is very similar to Klein's proposition that *intertextuality* implies "all texts branch out infinitely to other texts" (2005, 139). This suggests that, as terms, influence and intertextuality, while not interchangeable, may be related.

While both influence and intertextuality can be analyzed as relationships between a variety of texts, I argue there are key differences between the two theoretical concepts. One lies in the location of agency. Kristeva's definition of intertextuality places agency in the hands of the "readers," or audiences, who are free to interpret and make their own connections to the work. The study of influence, on the other hand, places agency in the hands of the authors: both those who create a new work and those who an artistic creator draws from or refers to (i.e., is influenced by). Art historian Michael Baxandall uses the terms "successor" to indicate the former and "precursor" to indicate the latter. In this way, the successor is not a "passive recipient of the predecessor's ideas or techniques" (Baxandall in Landwehr 2002, 4-5). Baxandall considers the successor to be an "active agent who reshapes the precursor's material" (ibid.).

Thus we may consider J. Simon van der Walt's stylistic choice of repeated on-beat notes that eventually syncopate as indicative of the influence of the jazz, pop, and funk artists he listens to and enjoys. These are connections that van der Walt drew during his creative process that the audience may or may not recognize. Those who do recognize the influences will connect van der Walt (and "Gamelunk") as "successor" to Joe Zawinul ("Birdland"), Herbie Hancock ("Chameleon"), Woody Herman and Joe Bishop ("Woodchopper's Ball"), and Sly Dunbar ("Marijuana"), as "precursors," reinforcing the importance of these authors/composers/performers. In the realm of influence, then, the author remains crucial. It is their use, reuse, revising, referencing, etc. of a previous work that is of interest. The mostly English audience for the *wayang kulit* performance in York may have shifted a bit and murmured when Hazen Metro appeared playing the newly-conceived "Iron Pipes," but they sat up, laughed, and cheered when Naga Mas played "Mairi's Wedding." Other audience members, myself included, who did not recognize the tune were still alerted that something important had

happened—a change, a connection, a reference—that brings the audience more deeply into the sonic world of the author(s).

Consideration of influence is very valuable when it comes to intercultural or fusion performances like the *Lokananta Suite* and "Gamelunk," and, indeed, much of the rest of Naga Mas' oeuvre. Openly acknowledging one's influences is a way of addressing anxieties regarding originality, cultural theft, and appropriation. Professional percussionist and former Naga Mas member, Signy Jakobsdottir works closely with musicians and dancers from all over the world and stresses the importance of "always acknowledge[ing] your sources; so if you *are* using other people's material, *say* you're using other people's material. And be open about where you come from" (p.c. Signy Jakobsdottir 11/14/14; emphasis in original).

Margarete Landwehr writes that, because of postmodernism's rejection of an/the original, influence also comes into play because of a desire for continuity (2002). By incorporating Javanese gamelan performance practices and techniques as well as references to specific songs and standard jazz structures, the *Lokananta Suite* and "Gamelunk" represent certain aspects of continuity that transcend national borders and musical genres. They also represent elements of continuity within Naga Mas as an affinity community gamelan. Sections of the *Lokananta Suite* have been used in previous pieces devised by the group, and "Gamelunk" has been a staple of the group's performance repertoire since 1997.

Influence is also useful in analyzing Naga Mas' music because it reveals the various connections/coherences members make between "their" music and the "Other's" music. It also acknowledges a kind of globalized blurring of "us" and "them" in certain aspects. For example, in 2008 Margaret Smith helped create several pieces for Javanese gamelan and Scottish smallpipes. Smith explained that, going into this project, she had greater knowledge of Javanese

gamelan music than she did of Scottish smallpipe music. In this case, gamelan was the music of "us," and bagpipes was the music of the "Other." "Gamelunk" also defuses any notion that Naga Mas creates a dichotomy that only includes Scottish music and Javanese gamelan music.[51]

There are many influences from Scottish music, Javanese gamelan music, and jazz in the pieces analyzed in this chapter: Smith's use of the Scotch Snap and triple meter reflects the Scottish influences in "Ca' the Yowes"; the *bonang's* very mobile *imbal* and the use of *alok* in "Mairi's Wedding" as well as the use of the same *pelog* scale for "Ca' the Yowes" and "Wong Donya" are instances of Javanese influence; and the quotation of "Birdland," the rhythmic and melodic treatment, and the trading twos between the trumpet and *kendhang* in "Gamelunk" can be regarded as influences from jazz. These influences function to demonstrate Naga Mas' interest in the creative interaction of Scottish music, Javanese gamelan, and jazz. The result of this interest are these and many other intercultural or hybrid works that facilitate the broad scope of musical and creative philosophies at work within Naga Mas.

Negotiating Agency

The ideas about music and creativity discussed above contribute to another overarching coherence system within Naga Mas: the negotiation of agency. This was touched on in van der Walt's comments to me regarding my right to question Naga Mas' work and the resulting tripartite power struggle I describe in Chapter 2 (see pg. 38). In this section, I expand on the idea of creator agency and its relationship to Naga Mas' views on creativity. This is not the kind of agency we find at work among dispossessed or oppressed peoples; it is a negotiation of internal and external agential authority.

In considering creator agency, creativity in Western cultures is often located in specific perceptions of authenticity. Writing about rock music, Mark Butler notes that "being authentic meant being true to one's unique artistic vision, even if expressing that vision was a struggle. As Deena Weinstein has written . . . 'the modern romantic notion of authenticity – creating out of one's own resources – became dominant over the idea that authenticity constituted a relationship, through creative repetition, to an authentic core'" (2003, 2). Naga Mas' convenor, Jena Thomson, also connects authenticity to new creation:

> Maybe because I come from a pop music background, when you say the word 'authenticity' to me, what I think of is originality and something that someone has written. And so although I really enjoy playing the traditional pieces . . . I do get a more personal buzz out of playing the contemporary stuff for *Gamelan Untethered*, even though . . . my artistic contribution to *Gamelan Untethered* is minimal, but I get a bigger, more personal or maybe more familiar buzz out of being involved with that because it's such a nice thing to see people's own compositions come to life and see what that means to them and to be doing something that is genuinely original and nobody's heard this before . . . (p.c. Jena Thomson 11/22/14)

This attitude, which permeates the contemporary music scene in both the US and the UK, is prevalent in many Naga Mas members' thoughts regarding gamelan music and creator agency. Many members commented on their negotiation of the authentic through their location of agential authority. Some locate this authority strictly in Java but most, like van der Walt, experience a kind of dual agency between themselves and Javanese musicians.

The most vivid description of struggle with creator agency came from Jakobsdottir, who said

> As a percussionist, all the instruments I play are not from my culture. I play congas, I play gamelan . . . I've gone from 'I want to play this. I love playing this. What can I learn? What can I take? What can I grab from Africa? What can I grab from Latin America?' to going, 'Oh my god, what am I doing? I'm being a colonial terrorist! I shouldn't be doing that! Am I even allowed to play that? Oh my god, my life is a lie! My career is a lie! I shouldn't be doing that!' to 'Oh my god, I don't have anything to call my own. Who am I?' to going 'Chill out. Be respectful. Find your own music within all that.

> You're just going to have to deal with it. You *are* doing this. You're gonna have to deal with. You're going to have to make your peace with it.' (p.c. Signy Jakobsdottir 11/14/14; emphasis in original)

Jakobsdottir's comments are self-inquisitorial, and she ultimately describes an internal decision and justification based on her own experiences. This is not the only form Naga Mas' agential negotiation takes, however.

Henry Spiller notes an apparent Western need for justification and legitimacy that can only be granted by "authentic" native practitioners (2015). Van der Walt references this when describing his use of drum notation, both for himself and his students:

> When I sat down for my [drum] lesson with Darsono Jilek . . . I was going to be learning *lancaran* drumming. He sat down and the very first thing he did was he took either my notebook or his notebook, he opened it up, and he wrote out the drumming for 'Wilujeng.' And he kind of did it in such a way it felt like he was sort of reminding himself . . . and he wrote it down to his satisfaction . . . and then he gave it to me, and we started to learn it from notation. And I thought, 'Ah ok! Notation actually is part of the pedagogy here.' Now it may be because of conservatoires in Indonesia and the fact that the pedagogy there has become more set, more fixed . . . maybe an older generation of Javanese musicians would not have done it that way. But that made me think, 'Ok, this is fine. Notation is part of it.' So that's why I'd use the notation in teaching traditional Javanese pieces like that. (p.c. J. Simon van der Walt 12/1/14)

Neil Sorrell's comment that "Authenticity . . . is impossible . . . Gamelan in the West cannot be the same as Gamelan in Indonesia" (1992, 68) seems to relinquish the need for authentic legitimization and to place agency squarely in the hands of musical creators, wherever they may be. This comment belies Sorrell's actions surrounding the premier of his work *Missa Gongso*, however. For its inaugural concert, Sorrell fabricated a fictional Javanese-Italian composer "[i]n order to deflect unwelcome focus on myself as the composer, but even more to convey an *illusion of authenticity* to enhance the reception of the work" (2007, 43-44; my emphasis). Even if Sorrell's intention was to comment on assumptions made by Westerners regarding authenticity

(and it is not at all clear from the article that this was his purpose), this very situation negates his own assertion of agency as the creator of *Missa Gongso*.

All this muddies the waters as to how or why we attribute authenticity and agency. Taking the essentialist view that only people from a culture may speak or create in the traditions of that culture is not viable; among other things, it assumes there is one original, one authenticity, and that all members of a single culture speak with one voice. It also rather naively assumes that Javanese composers will only ever want to compose pieces for gamelan instruments and in the traditional style. Denying the truth and inventing a composer or origin story that seemingly connects—and therefore justifies—a Javanese gamelan composition to Java is likewise an extreme endeavor fraught with hazards. It suggests that one must become (or at least pretend to be) the other in order to be taken seriously; or at least, for one's work to be taken seriously. This has been and remains a serious issue for non-Western musicians and artists who have been compelled to adopt the "master's tools" to gain economic, political, religious, and artistic legitimacy. In different ways and to different extremes, the scenario that Spiller, van der Walt, and Sorrell paint identify Javanese musicians and culture bearers as the "masters" and themselves (or, as in Spiller's historical work, others) as gaining permission to use those tools.[52]

Members of Naga Mas recognize the authority and agency of Javanese musicians and teachers. They also negotiate their own agency when it comes to creating music, and this negotiation takes different forms. For Bill Whitmer, who strongly locates cultural and musical authority in Java, this has meant his general refusal to participate in performances that only feature newly composed music. For others, like Jakobsdottir, Thomson, and van der Walt, it has meant finding a balance between recognizing Javanese authority and their own creative agency. Agency, or the negotiation of agency through creativity and influence, thus functions as a

coherence system for Naga Mas as it guides their behavior and thoughts regarding musical creation and performance.

Gamelan Untethered

In this final section, I examine Naga Mas' concept concert, *Gamelan Untethered*, in order to pull together the strings of coherence suggested above (e.g., connection, creative communal contribution, influence, and the negotiation of agency). I was present for their December 2014 and September 2015 performances of this show, and in both instances, they invited me to perform with them. This ethnographic perspective thus includes my own experiences as well as the musicians' comments and program notes.

While both performances of *Gamelan Untethered* featured the same music, the venues and circumstances for each were very different. The December 2014 show took place at the Old Hairdressers Bar and Gallery, a tiny bar with an upstairs art gallery tucked away in an alley only a block away from Glasgow Central, the main transportation hub for the city. The September 2015 show took place at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland (RCS), a 170 year-old music and arts school, and as part of the Discover Indonesia Festival in Glasgow. The RCS is about half a mile from the Old Hairdressers in distance but quite a bit further in terms of facilities.[53]

I approached each performance with equal parts excited anticipation and nervous tension. For the December performance, I was added at the very last minute. For the September show, I had a bit more foreknowledge that I would be performing, but I did not arrive in Glasgow until a week before the performance. In both instances, I only had about two full rehearsals with Naga Mas. I was elated at the opportunity to perform with them because, while they always invite me to join rehearsals and workshops, the chance to actually perform with them is rare. I was also

incredibly nervous because hardly any of the pieces I played utilized Javanese gamelan techniques. I would not be able, for example, to draw from my knowledge of *bonang* or *peking garap* to help me through tricky passages.

Though called *Gamelan Untethered*, I quickly realized that the overall concept of the show was all about connections and communal music making. In the program notes, Margaret Smith explains how, in her role as initiator and motivator, she "put forward a nebulous idea around creating gamelan music on a theme from outer space. A number of conversations, some serious, some less so, about the connections between gamelan and outer space followed" (12/13/14). Naga Mas members connected gamelan to *Star Trek*, Bruce McCandless' 1984 untethered spacewalk, and the Voyager Golden Record, which includes a recording of "Puspawarna." Naga Mas spent a weekend together, workshopping ideas and pieces. And while not every piece featured in the program was created communally, Smith notes that "Much creative undertaking, time, energy, and imagination has been given freely by the video creators, DJs, VJs, composers, performers, producers, designers etc…A joyful collaboration" (ibid.).

Specific musical connections are at work in this show. In "Supremacy," Smith used four short themes as leitmotivs to represent the stars, the sun, man, and a microbe. She explains her desire to "explore the uncomfortable and comfortable spaces between notes in the two tunings of the gamelan that are traditionally played separately in Indonesia" (program notes 12/13/14). Jamie Dunnett's "Solar System" functions similarly with various celestial bodies being represented by instruments or playing styles. Van der Walt's "Formica" also uses specific sonic connections through a Balinese *kotekan* played on *gender* and *slenthem*. Naga Mas members also adapted Colin Broom's piece "Untethered" in ways that both aid the musicians and connect to the traditional role of the drum in Javanese gamelan. "Untethered" is written as a 10-page,

cipher-notated score with many repeated sections. For the December performance, I and the other *saron* player struggled with several sections of this piece and even got lost during one of the many repetitions. The following September, van der Walt, who was drumming, decided to play unwritten drum cues to signal the end of the melodic repetitions and the subsequent sections. This is in keeping with his own knowledge of Javanese drumming. The change also smoothed out the performance of "Untethered" which up to that point had existed, at least for me and the other *saron* player who discussed this frequently, as a series of discrete, repeated sections. Van der Walt's drum cues facilitated the easy flow from one section to another as well as connecting the piece to Javanese performance practice.

Various influences were also apparent in the pieces created for *Gamelan Untethered*. The opening piece, an arrangement of Sun Ra's "We Travel the Spaceways," not only reflects van der Walt's jazz background but also demonstrates other members'—for example Nick Addington who wrote the program notes for this piece—interest in and influence by eclectic music. In "Pro 154," Gordon MacKinnon draws on his own previous work with synthesizers and drones. Katherine Waumsley's "Constellations" was greatly influenced by her work with dementia patients, whose "untrained voices [exist on] the edges between speech, song and whisper" (program notes 12/13/14). Her vocal line for this song reflects this through its "cracks and weakness" (ibid.).

The word "untethered" is very evocative. Broom describes McCandless' untethered spacewalk as a metaphor "both for the delicate, fragile nature of human life, and for the solitude that often must accompany many of our most challenging of endeavours [sic]" (program notes 12/13/14). This seems to sum up the total disconnection of being untethered and to fly in the face of Naga Mas' use of connection and creative communal work as coherence principles. If one

looks deeper, however, there are several implications at work in "untethered." The word implies that one was once tethered to something and that one is looking for a connection again. To find these connections, one must be able to work both independently *and* to recognize the work of others. This implication runs through the *Lokananta Suite*, "Gamelunk," *Gamelan Untethered* as a concept concert, and through Naga Mas' musical work as a whole. Through their negotiation of creative agency, they create connections that span the globe, both literally and figuratively.

Conclusions

Studying intercultural works created by non-native practitioners outside the music's country or culture of origin creates a heady conundrum. On the one hand, people fear being "colonial terrorists," and on the other hand, these same people still want to learn, create, and teach music connected to and influenced by other cultures. What can we do with this situation? Where does Sorrell's impossibility of authenticity leave us? How might we begin to understand gamelan music as part of a global continuum that has ties to but no longer strictly belongs to one culture?[54]

One possibility is to begin examining more closely the creations and coherencies of gamelan affinity communities. From Naga Mas members' musical life stories, certain coherence principles become apparent. Some of these (e.g., connection) were first introduced in the previous chapter, and some were newly suggested from musical analysis (e.g., creativity, communal contribution, and influence). These coherence principles should not be assumed true for all gamelan affinity communities, but they provide ample consideration for the different ways people interact with and use gamelan.

Through recognition of their coherence principles, the negotiation of agency becomes a powerful coherence system for understanding the kinds of connections Naga Mas creates among their musical works, their positionality in Scotland and the UK, Java and Indonesia, and their own personal values. In this way, group members locate agency both within themselves and within Javanese culture bearers. Diverse and often contrary voices speak through their music and within their community group. These voices allow Naga Mas to draw connections that create profound meanings and potent statements regarding how they envision and utilize gamelan. They also show how Naga Mas' various communal contributions result in creative pieces (products) that can change, adapt, and undergo continual refinement. Sometimes this is the result of changing performance circumstances, and sometimes the ability for change is written into the piece itself.

Naga Mas' repertoire includes a wide (and expanding) range of music. Diversification ensures relevance as the group is able to perform in a variety of contexts and venues. They also use non-gamelan-related genres—specifically Scottish folk music and jazz—in ways that demonstrate their knowledge without reducing any to accompaniment. Connections are achieved both sonically and contextually through the performance and performativity of gamelan. Their music thus shows how individual and group involvement contribute to a dynamic whole. Instead of relying on pale pastiche, the group offers a "better-nourished" music, one in which the contributors "[manage] a synthesis of what he or she is taking from Javanese tradition and what he or she can bring from another tradition" (Sorrell 2007, 42).

The next chapter continues the discussion of music as life stories, creativity, and coherencies by focusing on the UHJGE.

CHAPTER 6 "Amateurs in the best sense of the word:"[1] The Standard Repertoire and Invested Authority of the UHJGE

Introduction

Chapter 5 examined the music of Naga Mas in order to exemplify how their repertoire as a whole and a few pieces in general contribute to their creation of communal coherence. This chapter attempts a similar, general strategy for the UHJGE. However, because UHJGE members do not compose or devise the music they play, the issues of creative communal contribution and influence, as presented in the previous chapter, are rather moot. This chapter thus takes as its focus several related questions similar to those posed in Chapter 5: what coherence principles are suggested by the music the UHJGE performs and do these contribute to the Susilo coherence system outlined in Chapter 4? I address these questions through various analyses of the UHJGE's repertoire as well as a consideration of their approach to musical treatment and style. This analysis suggests the UHJGE's perpetuation of a standard (of) repertoire in the context of in both Javanese musical history and current Western gamelan practices.

Given both the difference in (approach to) repertoire between the two community gamelans, however, any subsequent questions depart from those addressed in Chapter 5. This departure serves several purposes. While examining these gamelan communities in terms of each other paints a very detailed picture of community gamelan groups outside of Indonesia, a more direct look at these groups (as provided in this and Chapter 5) works to avoid overgeneralizations, oversimplifications, and affords us a more holistic view of gamelan affinity communities in Western countries. This chapter also examines issues of representation as well as the nature of creativity in an affinity community initiated by a university's ethnomusicological

and pedagogical desires. *Performing Ethnomusicology* (Ted Solís, ed. 2004) is particularly useful here as I speculate that the authority invested in ethnomusicologists by their native, culture-bearing teachers has relevance to this particular gamelan affinity community. I round out the chapter by exploring how all of these issues manifest themselves in the April 18, 2015 memorial concert for Pak Hardja Susilo.[2]

To begin, I return to a comment R. Anderson Sutton made during a conversation we had in 2015.[3] He had heard about Naga Mas, I believe through my work, and very politely questioned their compositional activities, noting that he and other gamelan musicians trained by Susilo were not concerned with these kinds of creative endeavors. His statement includes many assumptions regarding the nature of Naga Mas' work but also concerning creativity, self-expression, and representation. While acknowledging Susilo's creative work in composing and arranging gamelan pieces for performance, Sutton, Remus, Polk, Tschudi, and others have evidenced a disinclination for, and perhaps total disinterest in, newly composed works that demonstrate too much Western influence. Likewise, no one I spoke to expressed interest in writing pieces for the group to perform.[4] The members were happy to perform Susilo's arrangements and the new compositions by I Made Widana, leader of the Balinese gamelan community ensemble, but that is where it ended. When queried about new works they had performed, all UHJGE members mentioned either one graduate student's less-than-successful *wayang* (see Chapter 4) or *Parables of Kyai Gandrung* (1976).

Thus it would appear—at least on the surface—as though Sutton's comment holds true for the UHJGE itself. When considered in light of Neil Sorrell's contention that "Gamelan in the West cannot be the same as Gamelan in Indonesia," (1992, 68) and Peter Steele's assertion that "If gamelan has truly gone global, the original has effectively dissolved any authoritative claim

over its copies," the question becomes: what does the UHJGE actually do? If they are not "into" self-expression and creativity, are they automatically doomed to simplistic and idealistic imitation and repetition? As has been evidenced in previous chapters and will be argued below, the answer is a robust "no" as UHJGE members have learned, internalized, and value a more *process*-oriented form of creativity over a *product*-oriented one. Members have explained how their involvement in gamelan has allowed them to create "meaningful new ideas, forms, methods, and interpretations,"[5] which contribute to specific coherence principles and systems. These in turn lay the foundation for communal identity that contributes to our knowledge and understanding of affinity communities.

The Repertoire of the UHJGE

One significant way the UHJGE creates coherence is through learning and performing music. Discussing this music is simultaneously more straightforward and more complicated than similar discussions of Naga Mas' repertoire (see Chapter 5). On the one hand, it is more straightforward because, with very few exceptions, the UHJGE only performs traditional Central Javanese gamelan repertoire in ways that conform to standards of Javanese performance practices. Yet on the other hand, it is more complicated because, unlike Naga Mas' perceived shared identity as a "Scottish gamelan," the UHJGE has no shared ethnic or cultural heritage with the music they play.[6] Additionally, none of their music been newly composed by UHJGE members. The music played and perpetuated by this affinity community is the result of decades of study, practice, travel, and a dedication to a perceived way of realizing Javanese gamelan music. Their goal is not to create new works but rather to hone skills in order to best perform another's music. With Susilo's passing, the group has taken on a further responsibility—in line

with their most prevalent coherence system (see Chapter 4)—to preserve the music and teachings instilled in them by Susilo.

It is, admittedly, difficult to separate the actions of the group from the direction of Susilo. Members readily admit that Susilo had the final say in choice of repertoire.[7] It would be shortsighted, however, to completely ignore the group input in the realization of the repertoire. From the very beginning, the students adopted leadership roles that continue to serve them in the community group. As early as April, 1973, Byron Moon and R. Anderson Sutton are listed in the concert programs as Music Assistants. Pattie Najita Dunn is similarly listed as Dance Assistant. During Susilo's sabbatical years, Moon and Roger Vetter took responsibility for leading the ensemble and staging the end-of-semester concerts. Sutton also explained how, after mastering a particular instrument to Susilo's satisfaction, students/members would be called on to teach that instrument to fellow students/members.[8] These practices have continued throughout the tenure of the UHJGE. It is ultimately the group's knowledge, skills, and experiences that have allowed and continue to allow for the performance of this repertoire and the continuation of the community. Additionally, as evidenced in previous chapters, Susilo's influences became part of how the community group realizes and identifies itself; in other words, Susilo's philosophies no longer belonged solely to him.

Because of this, I believe it is possible to approach the UHJGE's repertoire as life stories of the community. In order to tackle such a large repertoire (see Appendix 2), I draw, not only on the music itself, but also from the UHJGE's concert programs as well as members' comments about the music as the basis for my analyses. I use this archive to better inform our understanding of the repertoire.[9] I take this approach for several reasons. The first is that my personal experience with the UHJGE is relatively short compared to their performance history

which began in 1971: I played with the group from 2010-2013 and then for intermittent performances in 2014, 2015, and 2017. Analyzing the concert programs provides a fuller picture of the UHJGE's work. The second reason I take this approach is because, with a few exceptions that are included below, transcription of the UHJGE's musical output does not necessarily serve a clear purpose for my overall analyses. Unlike my transcriptions of "Gamelunk" and the *Lokananta Suite* (see Chapter 5 and Appendix 1), which serve as exemplars of how Naga Mas presents themselves as a musical community, it is much more difficult to isolate individual pieces that do the same for the UHJGE. In this case, it is better to examine the stories recorded in their concert programs to see how these contribute to a nearly fifty-year communal coherence.

According to concert programs available in the ethnomusicology archive at UHM, Professor Barbara Smith's private collection, and those collected by myself and other more recent members of the community group, the UHJGE has performed well over 57 concerts during their forty-seven-year tenure. This includes 205 individual pieces of music, many of which were performed numerous times, as well as thirteen *wayang kulit* (shadow puppet plays) and dance drama productions. This is not an exhaustive count as I was unable to collect all of the UHJGE's previous concert programs. The 57 programs available to me, however, offer a reasonable representation of the group's repertoire as a breakdown by decade of the number of programs reveals a fairly even split:

1971-79	thirteen concert programs
1980-89	ten concert programs
1990-99	fifteen concert programs
2000-09	eight concert programs[10]
2010-16	thirteen concert programs

The pieces performed include 1) individual *lancaran*, *ladrang*, *ketawang*, and *gendhing*; 2) *talu* or *wayang kulit* medleys of the aforementioned forms; 3) suites of the aforementioned forms separate from *wayang kulit*; and 4) *dolanan* or "playing around" pieces.

Vetter commented that "What we perform here [in Hawai'i] is, by and large, music of the 1970s, 80s, and 90s" (p.c. Roger Vetter 4/19/15). He later qualified this by explaining that Susilo was more informed by what was happening musically in Java in the 1950s, and that the students' experiences of Java in the 1970s also had an impact on the communal knowledge and skills of the group. The music in these concert programs is "basically our combined memory or knowledge of what music is" (ibid).

Appendix 2 includes a list of all 205 pieces of music along with form and *pathet* (if listed in the concert programs), how many times each piece has been performed by the UHJGE, the first date of performance, and the last date of performance. I use this compiled list, as well as the UHJGE's program notes, to inform my analysis of their treatment and style (this section) as well as for my discussion of standard repertoire (following section).

Treatment

In an interview with Geraldine Diamond (1984), Susilo emphasized the importance of learning treatment when understanding repertoire. This approach was publically connected to Java for the UHJGE's 1987 performance of "Gambirsawit": "In Javanese music culture, the performance treatment of a given composition *is almost as important* as the composition itself" (program notes April, 1987; my emphasis). While musical or performance treatment is a rather nebulous idea, the UHJGE uses the concept to indicate that, while many pieces share the same title and general melodic structure, there is often something subtly or overtly different in their realization in performance. This is in keeping with the perception of how these pieces are

performed in Java: never strict repetition but rather adaptations, arrangements, and differing treatments which affect *pathet*, melodic direction and contour, tempo, dynamics, and transitions among other things. For example, the UHJGE first played "Gambirsawit" in 1977. They have since performed the piece at least eleven times, four in *slendro pathet sanga* and seven in *pelog pathet nem*. They also append it with various pieces (e.g., "Jongglono" and "Ladrang Westminster") and perform two variations of the piece: "Gambirsawit Condong Campur" and "Gambirsawit Pancerana." Their performance treatment in 1987 "features the replacement of the first section of Gambir Sawit (the essence of that piece) with the composition Sumedhangan. In fact only the first eight beats of Gambir Sawit are hinted at" (program notes June, 1987). Thus, the UHJGE has not simply learned "Gambirsawit" but many different ways of treating it.

Writing in 1984, scholar and musician Martopangrawit notes a similarly flexible performance treatment of "Ladrang Pangkur" (in Becker 1984, 91). The piece can be played in *slendro pathet sanga*, *slendro pathet manyura*, *pelog pathet bem*—using either the *sanga* or *manyura* treatment—or *pelog pathet barang*. The UHJGE's treatment of "Pangkur" is roughly split between *pelog barang* and *slendro sanga*.[11] They also utilize pangkur form or pangkur meter, a "category of poetic forms" (Pickvance 2005, G-36) characterized by a varying number of syllables per line of text. They have played "Pangkur" as accompaniment to *Gambyong* dance as well as for *uyon-uyon*[12] concerts. In their 2015 performance of this piece in *pelog pathet barang*, they utilized aspects of the *slendro manyura* treatment.[13]

The UHJGE also gives their audiences opportunities to (potentially) learn, recognize, and experience the different treatments over time. For example, their May 1982 performance of "Jineman Tatanya" included three verses, the first of which was "performed in its original version, [while] the last two exemplify a 1950's treatment, one which imitates Western church

polyphony" (program notes May 1982). The UHJGE performed a Surakarta-style version of "Bondhet" in *pelog* for their fall 2008 concert and offered a Yogyakarta-style version of the same piece in *slendro* for their spring 2009 concert. A similar, closely related offering happened in 2013. In April, the group performed "Padhang Bulan" in *pelog pathet barang*, and in November, they played the same piece in *slendro pathet manyura*. In November, 2015, they performed two treatments of "Sumyar" at the same concert: one as a *ladrang* in *pelog pathet barang* and one as a *gendhing* in *slendro pathet manyura*. In the same interview mentioned above, Susilo noted "One of our goals is to educate the audience, and get them to accept the music the way it is accepted by the carriers of the tradition in their own terms" (1984, 6). A desire to educate their audience has therefore also affected the UHJGE's approach to performance. By relatively consistently performing different treatments of pieces, audience members have the potential to recognize these different treatments and understand that there is more than one way to realize a piece of Javanese gamelan music.

Historically, dance played a large part in the presentation of Javanese performing arts in Hawai'i. In addition to the Javanese gamelan class, Susilo and his first wife, Judy Mitoma, taught students various styles and forms of dance. Several of the participants in the *rombongan* Hawai'i (see Chapter 2) travelled to Java to learn dance as much as—or even more so—to learn music. As a result, many of the early pieces performed by the UHJGE were used for dance accompaniment. In the latter part of the 2000s and into the 2010s, however, dancing as part of both the UHJGE and the university Javanese gamelan class declined. Various pieces which typically accompany dances—e.g. "Sumyar," "Pangkur," "Lancaran Bendrong" – "Pucung Rubuh," and "Lancaran Baito Kandas" – "Landrangan" – "Gangsaran Carabalen"—were used to "simulate"[14] dance accompaniment in the absence of dancers. In private conversation and in the

course of rehearsals, Susilo, Moon, and other members explained that "dancers in their heads" guide their treatment of the *uyon-uyon* versions. Moon in particular explained how, while drumming for an *uyon-uyon* piece, he tried to respond to a visualized dancer in order to keep the piece dynamic.[15]

While the group strives for the kind of musical flexibility available to Javanese musicians,[16] they also candidly acknowledge when the group must arrange certain treatments ahead of time:

> Traditionally, musicians only have in their mind the sequence of notes that makes up the melody in a given piece. They find out the exact realization of the piece at the time it is played, thus adding the elements of spontaneity and surprise, most of which are pleasant, during the performance. Not having long experience with such musical practice, we *plan* our 'spontaneity' to prevent you from witnessing the disintegration of the piece in front of your eyes. (program notes April 2002; emphasis in original)

For example, they "eliminated the uncertainties" for their treatment of "Gendhing Gambirsawit Pancerana"; uncertainties caused by the traditional practice of not knowing which version was to be played until the moment of performance. During my time with the UHJGE, Susilo emphasized that our planned spontaneity must be decided and agreed upon by the whole group. This communal decision making is corroborated for "Ladrang Pangkur": "There are five different modes in which this piece may be played and numerous different ways it can be treated depending on the mood of the drummer. At the time of this writing, we haven't decided how we are going to play this piece" (program notes April 1999). Even as the writer of these program notes acknowledges the power of the drummer, he emphasizes the communal contribution to the final performance in his reiteration of "we." This planned spontaneity is also not wholly separate from Javanese pedagogy, however, as Nikhil Dally observes, "Whilst so much Javanese gamelan learning [and arguably playing/performing] appears to occur 'haphazardly' by osmosis, it is the

most finely-tuned, carefully-'planned' 'haphazard' osmosis imaginable" (p.c. Nikhil Dally 1/16/17).

The above examples serve to demonstrate the UHJGE's knowledge of and concern for what they identify as traditional Javanese gamelan performance practice. As individuals and as a community, their goals involve being skillful and knowledgeable enough to not only play the repertoire but to be cognizant of as many treatments of each piece as possible. This holds true for much of the UHJGE's repertoire, suggesting that knowledge of appropriate musical treatment functions as a coherence principle for the community.

Style

Style is a complex musical term, but here I use it to refer to what Richard Pickvance (2005), R. Anderson Sutton (1991), and others have denoted as Yogyakarta and Surakarta styles of gamelan playing. As the aforementioned sources cover the similarities and differences in depth, I will only attempt a short summary as I am mainly interested in how these differences of style are recognized and manifested in the music taught and performed by the UHJGE.

In general, Solonese[17] style is known for soft-style playing, for its refinement or *alus*-ness, and has in fact become the default or mainstream version of Central Javanese gamelan music. Yogyakarta style is denser with more notes played on fewer pitches (e.g., some instruments will have fewer keys or pots. The Yogyanese *slendro bonang barung*, for example, may have only ten pots whereas in Solonese gamelans it would have twelve pots. This is true of *Kyai Gandrung*). As UHJGE member Daniel Tschudi explains, "Over the years, what I came away with was that *gaya*[18] Yogya was the 'underdog/eccentric/regional' style, whereas *gaya* Solo was considered the 'standard/classical/more *halus'* style" (p.c. Daniel Tschudi 2/17/17).

It appears that Susilo reinforced this perception as, according to members of the UHJGE, he preferred Solonese style to Yogyanese even though he was a native of Yogya. This preference is evident in certain style characteristics perpetuated by the UHJGE. For example, Sutton explains in *Traditions of Gamelan Music in Java: Musical Pluralism and Regional Identity* (1991) that Solonese style *peking* playing involves doubling the *balungan* on the *balungan's* beat and after it:

```
Balungan[19]          5     3     5     2
Peking (Solo)      5  5  3  3  5  5  2  2[20]
```

This is in contrast to Yogyanese style *peking* playing which anticipates the *balungan's* beat:

```
Balungan           5     3     5     2
Peking (Yogya)  5  5  3  3  5  5  2  2
```

The Solonese style of *peking* playing is so standard in the UHJGE that it is not generally taught as "Solonese style" *peking*; it is just how correct *peking* playing is taught. I was not, in fact, aware that there was another style of playing *peking* until about two years into my membership of the UHJGE. That was introduced as "Yogyanese style" playing, but the correct style of playing was not given a name.[21]

Other characteristics of Solonese style affect the *bonang barung* and *bonang panerus*. According to Sutton, in this style the *bonang barung* omits some pitches, particularly in lower *irama* levels, and plays a smoother and more rhythmically regular melodic line. Richard Pickvance provides specific examples of Yogyanese and Solonese *bonang barung* patterns (2005, 147) in *irama* I and II. Looking back on my experiences learning *bonang barung*, it is evident that the Yogyanese style (following Pickvance's shorthand notation: xyxy for irama I and xyx.xyxy for irama II) was used to introduce new players to correct *bonang* subdivisions of the *balungan*. As soon as this technique was mastered, however, Susilo and Moon revealed that the "better" way to play conforms to the Solonese style (xyx. for irama I and xyx.xyx. for irama

II). Later, they introduced the more refined Solonese version (xyx. .yx. for irama II). Thus, while not identifying these styles as Yogyanese or Solonese *per se*, the former was established as a stepping stone for the (more appropriate) latter.

Another style characteristic came through when the *balungan* featured a repeated note. The *bonang barung* plays *nduduk gembyang*, which repeats that note and its octave using a specific Solonese-style rhythmic pattern:

```
Balungan              .       3       3       .
Bonang barung       3     3     3     3     3
                  3 3 3 .(3)3 .(3)3 .(3)3 .(3)3 .
```
[22]

This form of playing was introduced to me by UHJGE members as "sustaining." When I was unsure how to proceed for a certain *balungan,* Susilo and Moon used certain terminology to indicate a certain pattern. When Moon told me to sustain, he was referring to the rhythmic pattern isolated above. The following transcription is the third line of the second *kenongan* of "Gendhing Tukung." It shows the combination of the Solonese-style sustain pattern (first *gatra*) with the Solonese-style *mipil,* or walking pattern (second *gatra* and described by Pickvance above), in irama II.

```
Balungan          .       .       7       .       5       6       7       2
Bonang:         7     7     7     7     7
          7  7  7 .(7)7 .(7)7 .(7)7 .(7)7 . 5 6 5 . . 6 5 . 7 2 7 . . 2 7 .
```

Sutton also describes different patterns in the relationship between the *bonang barung* and *bonang panerus*. In Solonese style, the *bonang panerus,* in addition to doubling the *bonang barung's* melodic line, may also play three against the *barung's* two. In Yogyanese style, the *panerus* "simply play[s] between the beats of the *balungan* and the off-beats of the *bonang barung*" (56). In my experience, the UHJGE avails themselves of the Yogyanese style of *panerus* playing more frequently than the Solonese style. When introducing these styles,

however, they were not associated with a particular city; they were merely given as different options of playing.[23]

These characteristics are evident in the UHJGE's realization of most of the pieces they play. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the UHJGE holds that the *bonang* player's omission of certain pitches is indicative of how a mature, confident musician should perform (see pg. 92). In his explanation, however, Moon does not rationalize these omissions as indicative of a particular style; he connects this characteristic to age and maturity, not Surakarta. Thus, even though identifying these styles with their respective court cities could further legitimize the UHJGE's treatments and style as Javanese—a thing they seem to desire—in this example, they are more likely to draw upon age-as-symbolic-boundary as a means of directing the musical behavior of their community. This, in and of itself, is a connection to Java—as omitting notes imitates the performance practice of a mature *Javanese* musician—but it is a more circuitous connection. Thus the community's coherence is dependent on Java, but it is created and maintained according to experiences and interpretations of its members.

Despite assumptions regarding the normalcy of Solonese style, Susilo was perceived as being "loyal to his musical origins . . . and played the representative Jogya pieces" (p.c. Daniel Tschudi 2/17/17). Nancy Cooper opined that Susilo "[threw] in a piece or two that [was] distinctly Yogya style" and that he "probably did this more often than other leaders of gamelan groups outside of Java" (p.c. Nancy Cooper 2/22/17). While I can neither confirm nor deny this supposition at this time, [24] the UHJGE has repeatedly performed eleven of Sutton's list of seventeen titles "found to be widely known and recognized as Yogyanese" (1991, 38).

The discussion thus far has identified the breadth of repertoire performed by the UHJGE, their penchant for flexibility and depth of Javanese gamelan musical knowledge, and their

assumptions regarding style. It is clear that while elements of both Yogyanese and Solonese styles were/are played by the UHJGE, the association of these styles with their respective cities is less important when first introducing them as performance options. What is more important is conforming to a combined style of performance practice introduced by Susilo and reinforced by time spent in Java by individual students. These contribute to the Susilo Coherence System outlined in Chapter 4, but they also suggest a more nuanced and wider reaching coherence system, one which implies and strives for a standard repertoire. In dialog with the concerns regarding standardization of Javanese gamelan repertoire in Java (Sutton 1991) and those regarding standardization of Javanese gamelan repertoire in the West (Becker 1980, 1984), I suggest that the creation of a "standard repertoire" allows the UHJGE, and indeed other gamelan groups and teachers in the US and the UK, to establish their own autonomy as affinity communities and also to authenticate musical connections with Java.

Standard Repertoire

This section explores the implicative nuances of standard and standardization. Using the UHJGE's repertoire as an example, I explore the idea of standard to better understand their community's coherence and also to suggest further musical connections previously identified in verbal life stories and subsequently supported by their music.

Standardization is a concept fraught with anxiety. Judith Becker's contention that the survival of gamelan outside of Java is predicated on compromise (1983, 88) is echoed in Neil Sorrell's concern regarding "pale pastiche" (2007). Part of gamelan's accessibility lies in the assumption that this music is "simple," that anyone can learn it easily in a two-hour workshop.[25] The fear and the danger lies in the perpetuation of this superficial knowledge; here, imitation will

lead only to repetition not competence.[26] The concern, then, is that not only will standardization eradicate regional styles and variation, but, outside of Indonesia, it could also lead to the spread of simplistic gamelan music. This is potentially compounded by misunderstanding imitation as strict or blind. Becker describes the desire of herself and others of her generation to imitate the music learned from their Javanese and Balinese teachers (see pg. 33). Benjamin Brinner (1995) explores the plethora of imitative forms necessary for achieving competence in Javanese gamelan music.[27] *Strict* imitation, however, is not appropriate as students are expected to create their own individual idioms. It seems, however, that this form of imitation always comes to the fore as Sutton explains:

> You play a *cengkok* and say, 'Here's how it goes.' And the problem with that is maybe people think it has to go exactly this way and try to imitate every note, every little nuance and in fact, there's variability that you gradually get when you see someone do it the next time when they don't do it the same [but it's still correct]. I could *never* play the same thing twice on *gambang* when I was teaching *gambang*. I'd say, 'Record. Learn that. And just know that you don't have to play that version every time, you can use this other one. (p.c. R. Anderson Sutton 4/20/15; emphasis in original)

Even Sutton's concern that his students explore the variability of *gambang cengkok* has the potential to limit their opportunities: instead of using this *one*, they can use "the other *one*." There remains the opportunity for misunderstanding. The gamelan student's concern for "getting it right" also creates a vicious cycle. The drive to play correctly comes from a desire to show respect for the culture, but in assuming one way to play it right, aspects of Javanese gamelan music's identity may be lost. Even when gamelan musicians outside of Indonesia understand that there are many ways of being right, they may not be able to put that knowledge into practice. For UHJGE members, this realization has led to deeper study of Javanese gamelan music such that their palette of what is correct has expanded beyond specific notes to performance practice, style, and treatment. Because the UHJGE has many different ways of being right, the notion of

standard applies, not only to specific pieces of music, but also to their various styles and treatments. Thus, no one version of "Ladrang Pangkur" or "Gendhing Gambirsawit," for example, is *the* standard.

The scenario suggested by the previous paragraph has led not to a standardization of playing styles *per se* but rather to the assembling of a standard (of) repertoire. I apply the term standard here in several ways. The first is in the sense of providing an established and approved model. The second includes the moral connections evidenced by UHJGE members in Chapters 3 and 4. Here, standard provides and perpetuates "those morals, ethics, habits, etc., established by authority, custom, or an individual as acceptable."[28] Two other components of a gamelan affinity community's repertoire—time and repetition—include a set of pieces often played by a group, akin to jazz standards. While individual members of the UHJGE did not agree on a single piece or suite of pieces that represents their community group, there are a number of pieces that they have returned to again and again over the past forty-seven years (see Appendix 2). Thus, standard incorporates not only specific pieces of music but a group's knowledge, practices, and treatments relevant to those pieces.

The phrase "standard repertoire" has also been used by the UHJGE to connect the community group to a particular Javanese gamelan paradigm. For example, it was used to describe the following suite of pieces—"Ayak-Ayak" – "Pangkur" – "Subakastawa" – "Ayak-Ayak"—as "still part of the standard repertoire for any Javanese gamelan club" (program notes Nov. 1982). Likewise, "Gendhing Randhu Kintir," minggih "ladrang Ayun-Ayun" muiur, kaseling "Yening Tawang" is designated "part of standard repertory for professional and semi-professional gamelan clubs" (program notes April 1992). "Gendhing Gambirsawit" is identified as "part of the standard repertoire in the Javanese gamelan tradition" (program notes April 2002).

This use of standard connects the UHJGE musically to other Javanese gamelan clubs and to (semi-)professional gamelan performers as well as affirming their musical participation in "Javanese gamelan tradition." Trimillos' comment that the *rombongan* Hawai'i "accorded themselves very well in terms of putting on credible performances *that . . . showed that the group was very much part of the tradition*" (p.c. Ricardo Trimillos 2/11/13; my emphasis) speaks to this musical connection as well. It is through the performance of these—and other—pieces that the UHJGE creates the coherence that asserts their identity as a Javanese gamelan affinity community.

This musical connection to Java is more firmly established by contextualizing the UHJGE's repertoire with lists of Javanese *gendhing* from historic texts and previous ethnomusicological works. Martopangrawit (1984), Jennifer Lindsay (1991), and R. Anderson Sutton (1991) have all discussed the *Serat Centhini*, a twelve-volume "encyclopedic poem" (Sutton 1991, 32) written by Surakarta-court scribes during the reign of Paku Buwana IV (1788-1820).[29] The second volume includes a story in which Kyai Bawaraga, "a specialist on the rebab," (1984, 169) lists twenty-six major *gendhing* in each *pathet*.[30] Table 3[31] shows the overlap between pieces listed in the *Serat Centhini* and pieces performed by the UHJGE. It includes the titles of pieces, the *pathet* associated with each title in the *Serat Centhini*, the *pathet*(s) used by the UHJGE when performing that title, and the first and last year the piece was performed by the UHJGE. The numbers in parentheses following the UHJGE *pathet*(s) indicate how many times the group has performed the piece in that *pathet*.

Title	**Pathet (*Serat Centhini*)**	**Pathet (UHJGE)**	**Year Performed First/Last**
Gendhing Bondhan Kinanthi	Pelog nem	None listed (1)	1985

Gendhing Budheng-Budheng	Pelog nem	Pelog nem (1)	1980
Sembawa	Pelog nem	Pelog lima (4)	1972/2015
Sarayudah	Pelog nem	Pelog nem (1)	1980
Gendhing Miyanggong	Pelog nem	Pelog nem (2)	1990/2007
Gendhing Gambirsawit	Slendro sanga	Slendro sanga (4) Pelog nem (7)	1977/2011
Ganggong	Slendro sanga	Slendro nem (4)	1984/2006
Gendhing Malarsih	Slendro sanga	Pelog barang (1)	2012
Gendhing Bondhet*	Slendro sanga	Slendro sanga (1) Slendro nem (1) Pelog nem (2)	1991/2009
Surung Dhayung	Slendro sanga	Pelog nem (1)	2007
Sumedhang*	Slendro sanga	Slendro sanga (1) Pelog nem (3)	1991/2013
Gendhing Babar Layar	Pelog lima	Pelog lima (1) Pelog nem (1)	1979/2016
Gendhing Majemuk	Pelog lima	Slendro nem (1)	1877/1982
Gendhing Babat	Slendro nem	Slendro manyura (1)	1978
Gendhing Glondhong Pring	Slendro nem	Pelog nem (1)	2013
Gendhing Endhol-Endhol	Pelog barang	Pelog barang (1)	2011
Ladrang Manis*	Pelog barang	Pelog barang (1)	1991
Gendhing (Bonang) Tukung	Pelog barang	Pelog barang (3)	1984/2016
Cucur Bawuk	Slendro manyura	Slendro manyura (3)	1980/2013
Gendhing Lambangsari*	Slendro manyura	Slendro manyura (1) Pelog barang (1)	1982/1986
Pare Anom	Slendro manyura	Slendro manyura (3) Pelog nem (2)	1980/2013
Gendhing Lobong	Slendro manyura	Slendro manyura (2) Pelog barang (2)	1979/2013

Table 3 Shared repertoire between the Serat Centhini and the UHJGE

*These pieces are listed in the UHJGE's programs as accompanying various dances. However, Martopangrawit explains that the pieces included in the *Serat Centhini* are only *klenengan* (pieces for listening) and not for accompanying dance. This may mean that, despite the correct form and/or *pathet*, the title(s) refer to two different pieces, or it is possible that, given changing trends and Susilo's accomplishments as a dancer, these works' function has changed over time.

As mentioned previously and is obvious from Table 3, the UHJGE does not always limit themselves to performance in a single *pathet*. In certain instances, they perform the work in its

"original" *pathet*, for example "Gendhing Lobong" in *slendro pathet manyura*, and in its "borrowed" *pathet*, *pelog pathet barang*.[32] This holds true for their performances of "Gendhing Bondhet" as well. In other instances—for example in "Gendhing Gambirsawit," "Surung Dhayung," "Sumedhang," "Gendhing Majemuk," and "Gendhing Lambangsari"—the UHJGE performs the piece in the *pathet* listed in the older source and/or in a related *pathet*.[33]

Jennifer Lindsay's book *Klasik, Kitsch, Kontemporar: Sebuah Studi Tentang Seni Pertunjukan Jawa* (1991) offers a more detailed list of historical *gendhing*. Lindsay's list includes pieces mentioned in the *Serat Centhini* but also those mentioned in 1) the HB V, a Yogyakarta manuscript from the court of Sultan Hamengku Buwana V (personal collection, 1847); 2) the *Pakem Wirama*, a Yogyanese manuscript first begun in 1889; 3) the *Wedha Pradangga*, "the most extensive source on Solonese gamelan music dating from before 1950" (Sutton 1991, 33) and edited in 1979; and 4) the "Solo list," compiled by Mloyowidodo and published by ASKI Surakarta in 1976. In comparing Lindsay's expanded list(s) to the UHJGE's repertoire list (Table 4), there are a few more overlaps specifically from the HB V list:

Title from HB V	**Pathet (Lindsay)**	**Pathet (UHJGE)**	**Year Performed First/Last**
Dirada Meta	Pelog nem	Pelog nem (1) Slendro nem (3)	1972/2008
Kemuda	Pelog nem	Pelog nem (4) Slendro sanga (1)	1980/2016
Tropongan	None listed	None listed	1985
Rangu-Rangu	Pelog barang	Pelog barang (2) Slendro sanga (1)	1982/2011

Table 4 Shared repertoire between Lindsay's lists and the UHJGE

For his 1986 PhD thesis, Roger Vetter recorded "the repertoire of gendhing performed in the Kraton Yogyakarta between 15 September 1982 and 12 July 1983" (317). Table 5 shows the

overlap between the music performed in this 10-month period and the music performed by the UHJGE. Comparing this musical and temporal snapshot to the UHJGE's repertoire gives us yet another example of musical connections to Java.

Title from Yogya Kraton	**Pathet (Vetter)**	**Pathet (UHJGE)**	**Year Performed First/Last**
Bubaran Arum-Arum	Pelog barang	Pelog barang (5)	1992/2014
Asmaradana	Pelog barang Slendro manyura	Pelog barang (2) Slendro manyura (1)	1972/1997
Ladrang Ayun-Ayun	Pelog nem	Pelog nem (3)	1980/2015
Gendhing (Bonang) Babar Layar	Pelog nem	Pelog nem (1) Pelog lima (1)	1979/2016
Ladrang Babat	Slendro nem	Pelog barang (1)	2015
Lancaran Bendrong	Slendro manyura Pelog barang	Slendro manyura (8) Pelog nem (1)	1977/2016
Bindri	Slendro sanga	Slendro sanga (3)	1987/2002
Gendhing Bondhet	Slendro nem	Slendro nem (3) Slendro sanga (1)	1991/2009
Ketawang Brondong Mentul	Pelog barang	Pelog barang (1)	1977
Ladrang Dirada Meta	Slendro nem	Slendro nem (3) Pelog nem (1)*	1972/2008
Gendhing Gambirsawit	Slendro sanga	Slendro sanga (4) Pelog nem (7)	1977/2011
Gambuh	Pelog nem	Pelog nem (6) Slendro nem (2)**	1980/2015
Ketawang Gandamastuti	Pelog nem	Pelog nem (1)	2016
Ladrang Jagung-Jagung	Slendro manyura	Slendro manyura (1) Slendro nem (2) Pelog nem (1)	1978/2015
Kebo Giro	Pelog barang	Pelog barang (2)	1971/1977
Ladrang Kenya Tinembe	Slendro manyura Slendro sanga	Pelog nem	1980
Kinanthi Sandhung	Pelog nem (ladrang)	Slendro nem (ketawang) (2) Slendro manyura (1)	1979/1997
Lambangsari	Slendro manyura Pelog barang	Slendro manyura (1) Pelog barang (1)	1982/1986
Ketawang Langengita	Slendro sanga	Slendro sanga (1)	2012
Ladrang Lipursari	Slendro manyura	Slendro manyura (4)	1980/2015

Gendhing Lobong	Slendro manyura	Slendro manyura (2) Pelog barang (2)	1979/2013
Ladrang Lunggadhung	Pelog nem	Pelog nem (2)	2006/2007
Gendhing Malarsih	Pelog barang	Pelog barang (1)	2012
Ketawang Megatruh	Pelog barang	Pelog barang (2)	1989/1991
Serimpi Muncar	Pelog barang (gendhing)	Pelog barang (1)	1978
Ladrang Pangkur	Slendro sanga	Slendro sanga (9) Pelog barang (5) Pelog nem (palaran) (1)	1971/2016
Ketawang Puspanjala	Pelog nem	Pelog nem (5)	1982/2016
Ketawang Puspawarna	Slendro manyura	Slendro manyura (1)	2015
Rajaswala	Pelog nem Slendro sanga	Pelog nem (1)	1986
Gendhing Randhu Kintir	Pelog nem	Pelog nem (1)	1991
Ladrang Rangu-Rangu	Pelog barang	Pelog barang (1)	2011
Rina-Rina	Pelog nem (bubaran)	Pelog nem (lancaran) (1)	2011
Ladrang Roning Tawang	Pelog nem	Pelog nem (1)	1992
Ladrang Sarayudah	Slendro manyura	Pelog nem (1)	1980
Ladrang Sri Karangron	Slendro sanga	Slendro sanga (4)	1979/2012
Ladrang Sri Katon	Slendro manyura	Slendro manyura (4)	1980/2013
Subakastawa	Slendro sanga	Slendro sanga (2)	1980/2014
Ladrang Sumyar	Pelog barang	Pelog barang (3) Slendro mayura (gendhing) (1)	1980/2015
Ladrang Surung Dhayung	Slendro sanga	Pelog nem (1)	2007
Ketawang Tarupala	Slendro manyura Pelog barang	Slendro sanga (1)	2013
Tropongan	Pelog nem Pelog barang	None listed (1)	1985
Tropong Bang	Pelog nem (bubaran)	Pelog nem (lancaran) (2) Pelog lima (2)	1971/2016
Gendhing (Bonang) Tukung	Pelog barang	Pelog barang (3)	1984/2016
Udan Mas	Pelog nem	Pelog nem (2) Pelog lima (1) Pelog barang (1)	1977/2012

Table 5 Shared repertoire between Vetter's list and the UHJGE

*The UHJGE program notes categorize this piece as *pelog pathet nem* but qualify this by explaining that it actually moves between *bem* and *barang*.

**Comparing Vetter's transcriptions (cipher notation) to Barry Drummond's online notation,[34] it appears that "Gambuh" in *slendro pathet nem* is a very different piece than the "Gambuh" in *pelog pathet nem*.

A portion of the UHJGE's repertoire also comes from *wayang kulit*. Their most frequently performed pieces are three forms of *gendhing lampah* ("walking pieces"): "Ayak-Ayak(an)," "Srepeg(an)," and "Sampak." These pieces are closely associated with this puppet theater form[35] and are used to denote action and tension. The names refer more to specific forms than to titles of specific pieces, and they can be played in any *pathet*. They can also be performed individually or appended to other *gendhing*. To date, the UHJGE has performed "Ayak-Ayak" 27 times, "Srepegan" 26 times, and "Sampak" 27 times.[36] [37] Instead of comparing the UHJGE's uses of these pieces to another source, Table 6 demonstrates the various iterations of these three forms performed by the UHJGE since 1971.

Title(s)	**Pathet**	**Year(s) Performed**
Ayak-Ayak – Srepegan – Sampak	Pelog lima (1) Pelog nem (1)	April, 1971 April, 1972
Gendhing Glewang Gonjing minggah Ladrang Ginonjing terus Ketawang Sinom Rog-Rog Asem - Ayak-Ayak - Slepegan - Sampak	Slendro manyura (1)	April, 1977
Playon Soro Daten - Ketawang Brondong Mentul - Palaran Asmaradana - Ayak-Ayak Giyar	None listed	April, 1977
Ayak- Ayak Giyar	Pelog barang (1)	August, 1977
Ketawang Kinanthi Sandhung terus Ayak-Ayakan - Srepegan - Sampak	Slendro manyura (1)	Feb., 1979

Alas-alasan (includes): Kemuda, Srepegan, Sampak, Sampak, Subakastawa, Ayak-Ayak	Pelog to slendro sanga (1)	April, 1980
Gleyong – Ayak-Ayak	Pelog nem to slendro nem (4)	April, 1980 April, 1992 May, 2009 Nov., 2013
Patalon (includes): Cucur Bawuk, Pare Anom, Sri Katon, Suksma Ilang, Ayak-Ayak, Srepegan, Sampak	Slendro manyura (3)	April, 1980 April, 2007 April, 2013
Talu (includes): Gendhing Widosari, Ladrang Lipursari, Ketawang Gambuh, Ayak-Ayakan, Srepegan, Sampak	Slendro manyura (4)	Nov., 1980 Nov., 1984 Dec., 2007 Nov., 2015 (minus Widosari)
Ayak-Ayak - Srepegan Rangu-Rangu kalajengakan Jineman Tatanya	Slendro sanga (1)	May, 1982
Ayak-Ayak - Pangkur - Subakastawa - Ayak-Ayak	Slendro sanga (1)	Nov., 1982
Alas-Alasan (includes): Kemuda, Srepegan, Sampak, Sampak Westminster, Ayak-Ayak	Pelog nem to slendro sanga (1)	June, 1987
Ayak-Ayak – Srepegan – Playon – Gara-Gara	Slendro sanga (1)	April, 1990
Slepegan Kemuda – Slepegan – Sampak – Ayak-Ayak	Pelog nem to slendro sanga (1)	Nov., 1990
Ayak-Ayak	Slendro manyura (1)	June, 1991
Kumuda Rangsang - Srepeg - Sampak - Ayak-Ayak	Slendro sanga (1)	August, 1994
Patalon (includes): Ladrang Sri Katon, Ketawang Suksma Ilang, Ayak-Ayak, Srepegan, Sampak	Slendro manyura (3)	March, 1997 April, 1999 April, 2007
Alas-Alasan (includes): Ketawang Subakastawa – Ayak-Ayak, Ada-Ada, Ayak-Ayak Kemuda – Srepegan, Sampak	None listed	April, 1999
Gendhing Jungkang minggah Ladrang Clunthang Mataraman - Ayak-Ayakan - Srepegan	Slendro sanga (1)	April, 2010

Gendhing Ehdhol-Endhol minggah Ladrang Rangu-Rangu - Srepegan Rangu-Rangu - Ayak-Ayak Rangu-Rangu - lagu paman Ngguyang Jaran	Pelog barang (1)	Nov., 2011
Ketawang Subakastawa – Ayak-Ayak – Srepegan	Slendro sanga (1)	April, 2014
Ayak-Ayak – Srepegan – Sampak Tayungan	Slendro manyura (1)	April, 2015
Ladrang Mudhatama -Ayak-Ayakan - Srepegan - Sampak	Slendro sanga (1)	April, 2016
Ayak-Ayak Pamungkas	Slendro manyura (1)	Nov. 2016

Table 6 The UHJGE's uses of "Ayak-Ayak," "Srepegan," and "Sampak" in chronological order

While the above tables indicate that there are many pieces the UHJGE has played more than once, they also reveal the fact that there are some pieces the group has played only once or twice.[38] This has happened numerous times over the course of the group's history; for example, they performed a piece called "Ladrang Slamet" in April, 1971 and have yet to repeat a performance of this. On the other hand, the group continues to add new material to their repertoire. The piece "Lancaran Grombol Kethek Banyumasan" was first performed in November, 2016.

There are several conclusions we may draw through a comparison of the information in these tables. Taking the UHJGE's list of 205 pieces, 11% (22 pieces) were found in the *Serat Centhini*, 2% (4 pieces) were found in the HB V list, and 22% (43 pieces) were found in Vetter's list of the Yogykarta *kraton* repertoire. While "Ayak-Ayak," "Srepegan," and "Sampak" were not included in any of the historical lists, they are performed by the UHJGE with several pieces that were (e.g., "Subakastawa," "Endhol-Endhol," "Cucur Bawuk," "Pare Anom," "Sri Katon," and "Suksma Ilang" among others).

There is significant but not abundant overlap between pieces from Martopangrawit's, Lindsay's, and Vetter's lists as represented above; nine of the titles on Martopangrawit's list and two of the titles on Linday's list appear on Vetter's. This demonstrates that these older *gendhing* (written about in the 18th and 19th centuries) were still performed in the late 20th century. What is specifically relevant to the UHJGE is that these pieces are performed just as often, and in some instances more often, than those pieces only shared between Vetter's much more recent historical list and the UHJGE repertoire list. For example, the UHJGE has performed "Gendhing Gambirsawit"—a piece shared on all lists—a total of eleven times. This is, with the exception of "Ladrang Pangkur," more than any other piece only shared between Vetter's and the UHJGE's lists. Other pieces, like "Gendhing (Bonang) Tukung," "Gendhing Lobong," "Ladrang Dirada Meta," and "Gendhing Bondhet"—again, pieces shared among all lists—are performed a comparable number of times to pieces only shared between Vetter's and the UHJGE's lists. This suggests that while the UHJGE's repertoire overlaps more with music popular in the 1980s—as evidenced from Vetter's comment at the beginning of this chapter—the group is also carrying the performance of older *gendhing* into the present. They are likewise maintaining musical connections to *wayang kulit* and dance drama traditions by availing themselves rather often of the Ayak-Ayak, Srepegan, and Sampak forms. Additionally, the group continues to add new pieces to their repertoire.

The number of performances can also be considered in light of their temporal spread. The group first performed "Gendhing Babar Layar," for example, in 1979 while their latest performance of this piece was in 2016. Susilo introduced "Ladrang Dirada Meta" in his first few years in Honolulu (April, 1972). The group returned to it in 1978, 1990, and 2008. "Ladrang Pangkur," a piece only shared with Vetter's list, has the widest spread; first learned in April,

1971, the UHJGE's latest performance of this work was in November, 2016. The same may be said of "Ayak-Ayak," which—in its various iterations—was performed as early as 1971 and as recently as 2016. The UHJGE has also returned to specific medleys at various points. Thus, the UHJGE not only continues to perform pieces of music connected to various periods of Javanese history, they have fairly consistently returned to pieces representative of their own history.

One other telling connection arose which is not indicated by the above tables but that came to light during my research and analysis of these lists. Vetter also includes "the location of the gendhing in gendhing sets (medleys)" (1986, 318). These gendhing-set locations indicate how individual pieces were grouped by the Yogyakarta *kraton* musicians. In comparing these medleys to those performed by the UHJGE, I discovered some similarities. For example, Vetter lists the *gendhing*-set location for "Ketawang Langengita" as:

> Gendhing Gambirsawit
> lik Ladrang Srikarongron
> Ketawang Langengita
> Playon Slendro Sanga
> seling Rambangan Dhandhanggula and Rambangan Sinom

The UHJGE has not performed this exact suite of pieces, but they have paired "Ladrang Sri Karongron" with "Ketawang Langengita" (Nov. 2012). They also adopted the *gendhing*-set location for "Randhu Kintir." Vetter lists the following set:

> Gendhing Randhukentir
> dhawah Ladrang Ayun-Ayun
> Ketawang Puspanjala

Instead of including "Ladrang Ayun-Ayun" as the *dhawah*, or second section of a bi-sectional piece, the UHJGE describes "Ladrang Ayun-Ayun" as the *minggah*[39] for "Gendhing Randhu Kintir."

There are, of course, also many examples of medleys performed by the UHJGE that do not conform to Vetter's *gendhing*-set locations. This occurs even when the UHJGE has performed all the pieces included in the set. For example, Vetter notes the set location for "Surungdhayung" as follows:

> Gendhing Gambirsawit
> lik Ladrang Pangkur
> Ladrang Surungdhayung

Even though the UHJGE has performed these three pieces many times, they have not grouped them together exactly like this. Thus while analysis of these various sources and the UHJGE's repertoire list do reveal solid musical connections, it is evident that the UHJGE does not limit themselves to any kind of strict imitation. This is also observable in their performance of pieces in additional (and sometimes completely different) *pathets* along with the descriptions of various treatments in previous sections.

This analysis offers us a glimpse into what pieces were considered important and what pieces were performed during various periods of Javanese history. It demonstrates how the UHJGE's repertoire exists as part of a continuum initiated in Java and perpetuated in the West. Thus, while Sorrell and Steele might assume disconnection, this particular gamelan affinity community strives for musical connections, albeit different ones than those suggested by Naga Mas.

The above tables suggest an established canon or a standard repertoire for the UHJGE, pieces that they return to frequently as well as pieces that connect them musically to Java. The above analysis may also suggest that these pieces create any kind of general standard (of) repertoire. When used and performed outside of Java, are there certain pieces that lend themselves to the concept of a standard repertoire? Numerous people in the UHJGE opined that

"*everybody* knows 'Pangkur,'" a feeling that both contributes to and explains their continued performance of it.

Following this line of thought, I queried the Dartmouth Gamelan Listserve members as to which pieces they—as contemporary Western gamelan teachers, tutors, performers, students, and practitioners—identify as the standard or model for Javanese musical practice and representation. Following an informal poll, participants identified the following pieces as standard and potentially canonical:

Lancaran Kebo Giro	Gendhing Babar Layar
Lancaran Rena-Rena	Gendhing Gambirsawit
Lancaran Singa Nebah	Gendhing Ketut Manggung
Ketawang Puspawarna	Ada-Ada
Ketawang Subakastawa	Ayak-Ayak
Ladrang Asmaradana	Bendrong
Ladrang Ayun-Ayun	Bondhet
Ladrang Eling-Eling	Gangsaran
Ladrang Gonjang-Ganjing	Ricik-Ricik
Ladrang Lipursari	Sampak
Ladrang Pangkur	Sentir
Ladrang Sri Katon	Srepegan
Ladrang Sri Karongron	Talu
Ladrang Tirtakencana	Udan Mas
Ladrang Wilujeng	

Table 7 List of pieces identified by Dartmouth Gamelan Listserv members as "standard"

The above shares far more pieces in common with Vetter's list (14) than it does with Martopangrawit's list (3). With the exception of four pieces,[40] however, all of the above are part of the UHJGE's repertoire and indeed, includes the pieces that the UHJGE has performed the most (e.g.," Ayak-Ayak," "Srepegan," "Sampak," "Pangkur," "Bendrong," "Ricik-Ricik," "Gangsaran," "Gambirsawit," and "Singa Nebah"). This suggests several things: 1) despite preference and even reverence for larger *gendhing*, there has been a growing focus on smaller

forms—*lancaran*, *ketawang*, and *ladrang*; 2) while not every American ethnomusicologist studied gamelan with Susilo, a great many of those with interest in gamelan did and his influence is evident on American gamelan practices. Thus while it is too simplistic to credit Susilo and the UHJGE with the spread of this repertoire, their early introduction to and continued performance of these pieces connects them just as firmly to gamelan traditions outside of Java as it does to those inside of Java.

Contributors to this discussion offered several reasons for conceptualizing these pieces as standard, particularly when used outside of Indonesia. One such reason was the feeling that these pieces are emblematic of Javanese gamelan music. Wayne Forrest commented that "Subakastawa" "embodies 'sanga-ness'" (p.c. Wayne Forrest 1/16/17). Nikhil Dally agreed and added that "the same can be said for 'Ktw. Puspawarna'" (p.c. Nikhil Dally 1/16/17). The idea here seems to be that if a student of gamelan is looking to understand what a *ketawang* in *slendro sanga* is or means, "Subakastawa" and "Puspawarna" are good, fundamental examples.

Another reason for these pieces' standard-ness has to do with how the music functions as "gateways to other compositions" (p.c. Wayne Forrest 1/16/17) or "portal[s] to learning more complicated pieces, through furthering understanding of performance and theory issues related to composition" (p.c. Dane Harwood 1/25/17). Much of what is learned/taught in these pieces—in terms of *rebab*, *gender*, or *gambang cengkok*; *garap* for *irama* shifts and changing sections; damping; and relationships between the *buka* and the piece—is transferrable to other pieces. In this sense, the music itself becomes the teacher. Kathryn Emerson explains that "Bendrong is one of those 'mentor' *lancaran* that holds most all of what we want to teach beginners in one" (p.c. Kathryn Emerson 1/16/17). Elsje Plantema uses "Ketawang Puspawarna" as a kind of etude to help students understand how individual parts—particularly the *bonang* and the *balungan*

instruments—work together (p.c. Elsje Plantema 1/27/17). Thus, a community group may strive for musical autonomy by not being dependent on a teacher for specific instructions for every single piece. Rather, they transfer knowledge from one piece of music to another. This reveals the importance of a focus on treatment.

In sum, the UHJGE's repertoire exemplifies "standard" in several ways. By performing works discussed in centuries-old texts, works performed in the Yogyakarta *kraton,* and works utilized as part of theatrical tradtions, they confirm their part in continuing a specifically Javanese standard of repertoire. There are numerous pieces that the community group has returned to time and again over decades of performance; these works have become standards for the community itself. Additionally, a not insignificant portion of their repeated repertoire is part of a growing body of works deemed crucial not only for introducing new students to Javanese music but for exemplifying Javanese musical practices. These works have been identified as standard and even canonical by other gamelan practitioners in the US and the UK.

There are also certain standard approaches the UHJGE takes to their performance of this music. Guided by Susilo, they have internalized numerous treatments of the same piece such that their imitation of Javanese gamelan music is not strict or limited to one, right way of playing. They also utilize aspects of both Yogyakarta and Solonese styles of playing, while regarding the Solonese style as normative. Further, they continue to learn new material, drawing on their knowledge of correct *garapan* to transfer musical knowledge from the known to the unknown. In this way, they do not limit themselves to a set repertoire but rather continually strive to learn more.

The UHJGE thus establishes and maintains coherence through adherence to these musical standards. Their music is a growing body of work with connections to Javanese music at varying

points in history as well as to the contemporary history of gamelan outside of Indonesia. Therefore, it exists as part of a chain of Javanese gamelan music that has survived in one form or another into the present. This is one way that that this affinity community authenticates musical connections to Java. At the same time, *because* of their musical knowledge and their own personal experiences, they also establish their own autonomy which allows them to function as a community far away from Java.

Invested Authority, Representation, and Creativity[41]

Through the UHJGE's positionality as an affinity community with close ties to a university, they have achieved invested authority realized via the intersection of representation and creativity. I define invested authority as that which is given by one in a position of knowledge and/or power to another and in so doing allows the second to act with part or all of the authority of the first. Mantle Hood, Lou Harrison, and others describe invested authority when they seek legitimization from native culture bearers for their actions.[42] Susilo also described a moment of invested authority between himself and Martopangrawit who "certified" Susilo's use of his (Martopangrawit's) style of *gender* playing.[43] Most ethnomusicologists act with invested authority, and UHJGE members do as well.

Representation occurs when one person, place, thing, or idea stands in for another, usually absent person, place, thing, or idea. Stuart Hall's chapter "The Spectacle of the 'Other'" (1997) connects representation to stereotyping (225), a practice that "reduces, essentializes, naturalizes and fixes 'difference'" (258). This often happens both as a result of and in an attempt to establish one's domination or control over another. Rene Lysloff notes how often various narratives—musical, textual, visual, etc.—speak *for* the represented, "disempowering them as

discursive objects but, at the same time, enrolling them as rhetorical allies and passive musical collaborators" (in Post 2006, 194). In both of these cases, authority is claimed by an individual, group, industry, country, etc. It is not shared or taught by the absent Other.

Consequently, representation often carries negative connotations in ethnomusicology. Musical representation can refer to the practice of creating and/or performing aurally stereotyped, physically absent Others: e.g., simplified pentatonic riffs and gongs for Asia, basic drum beats and stereotyped melodies for Native Americans, etc. Issues of representation are also related to ownership. Elizabeth Clendinning expands and attempts to answer Jody Diamond's initial question ("is this music mine?") by adding two others ("do I have the right to be a representative of this culture to others?" and "do I have the right to make money off of this knowledge?"). Within these questions lie the roots of cultural theft. As many scholars point out, cultures have borrowed from each other since time immemorial. It becomes a serious issue when one culture claims another culture's tangible or intangible processes/products as their own in ways that benefit from that theft and which are detrimental to the original culture. We have seen how Naga Mas, as a community and as individuals, struggle with these questions in their attempt to respectfully represent Javanese music culture and at the same time satisfy the members' own creative needs (see Chapters 4 and 5). I wish to bring the issues of representation and cultural theft to light here specifically because of assumptions regarding each community's actions. Given the UHJGE's invested authority (discussed below), many may assume that their actions are more ethically or morally correct and justified while those of Naga Mas are not. Rather than being judgmental, I am suggesting that we interrogate these assumptions to better understand the deeper motivations of different affinity community groups.

Both Naga Mas and the UHJGE may qualify their representation by arguing that individuals in the group do not make a living off of their knowledge (Clendinning's second question). The money acquired by each community gamelan is used to support the group's activities, not as additional income. As evidenced in previous chapters, however, individuals who are members of Naga Mas have used gamelan knowledge outside the context of Naga Mas to supplement their living.[44] And members of the UHJGE have advocated for monetary compensation for Susilo, Moon, and others at various points throughout their history. Thus the issue of making money from one's knowledge is a gray area.

Clendinning further notes that "Whether or not Americans have a specific right to represent Balinese music, they do" (2013, 249). She provides justification for this by explaining that these performances are often at the behest of Balinese musicians and organizations. Thus, the American performers are granted permission by authentic representatives of the culture. She explains how the Balinese invest their American counterparts with representational authority: "by agreeing to work with anthropologists and ethnomusicologists, Balinese musicians are allowing these scholars to represent Balinese culture and musical lifeworlds abroad" (ibid). This interaction and understanding between (in this case) Balinese musicians and ethnomusicologists may further explain the strong scholarly focus on academic gamelans to the exclusion of community gamelan groups: ethnomusicologists and culture bearers are able to control the form and presentation of knowledge for academic world music ensembles. Trimillos' comments regarding the justification and categorization of UHJGE members as (former) students—"to me that was a better defense of having these community people using all our stuff: because they were alumni" (p.c. Ricardo Trimillos 2/11/2013)—reflects an attempt to mitigate faulty and negative representation: as long as the group is associated with UHM's ethnomusicology area,

are led by an "authentic" culture bearer, and populated by students trained by the same pedagogy, their representation is justified or at least defensible.

The politics of representation are always already about power. Power assumes unequal relationships: "stereotyping tends to occur where there are gross inequalities of power" (Hall 1997, 258). Power also means locating authority. As ethnomusicologists, we struggle with this because, while we may not view ourselves as particularly powerful,[45] we are often more empowered than those we work with. By repositioning ourselves as students to native teachers, we cede power and authority to our teachers as experts.[46] This scenario is true for members of the UHJGE. Despite their decades of study and practice, all authority and power is located in Susilo. He was "like the sultan or the king or the president . . . the sole person who just said, 'We're doing this'" (p.c. Byron Moon 4/29/15). When raising questions regarding performance practice, new members were constantly told: "Just play it. Sus will tell you if you're wrong." Thus the dual agency that Naga Mas members identify and negotiate is downplayed or ignored by many UHJGE members (see Chapter 5).

Through his pedagogical aims of thinking, listening, and being "disappointed in a Javanese way"[47] (1984, 7) however, Susilo imbued the UHJGE with representational authority. Thus, Ted Solís' question—"how do [ethnomusicologists] represent the rich cultures we revere while we acknowledge and deal with the cultural distance between us and our students, and between both of us and these cultures?" (2004, 1-2)—is pertinent for musical affinity communities as well. How does a community ensemble, with complicated ties to a university music department, represent a culture that has become part of their own individual and group identities? How do they/we recognize distance and interpret connections? The answers obviously cover a wide range of attitudes and approaches, but these questions are particularly significant

for groups like the UHJGE which strives for competency in the gamelan traditions of Java. The difficulties raised by world music ensemble leaders in *Performing Ethnomusicology* are applicable to the UHJGE as they began as a university-based ensemble class and continue in their relationship with the UHM music department. These difficulties also take on new meaning as we consider the group as potentially independent of the university and able to make their own decisions regarding finances, repertoire, teaching practices, dress, comportment, etc.

Ideally, in order to properly and respectfully represent an absent Other, a group would conform to those practices identified by the Other as appropriate. There is a fine line to walk, however. If a group is too slavishly imitative, they "lay themselves open to the potential charge of doing little more than producing bad copies of Zimbabwean/Japanese/Javanese/Indian musicians" (Hughes in Solís 2004, 15). Efforts to uphold their leader's teachings could result in the situation described by Trimillos when the *rombongan* Hawai'i visited Java:

> And it was then (1973), when we came to Yogya, I discovered that essentially we were more classically trained, our group, than what was being taught in the academies. And so a lot of the protocol which they'd either forgotten about or felt they didn't need to do, we all did . . . and then, of course, *they were all shamed because we were, in some sense, more Javanese than they were*. (p.c. Ricardo Trimillos 2/11/13; my emphasis)

At the time Trimillos refers to, this classical training displayed by the *rombongan* Hawai'i was not a conscious effort in preservation. Likewise, it was not the group's intention to shame their Javanese observers by acting in ways they thought the Javanese should.[48] Their behavior and comportment was/is a reflection of Susilo's own training and interpretations. This interaction is indicative of the migration of music and the effect of change on the home culture. Even though Susilo had only been teaching in Hawai'i for three years at the time of this visit, he had been absent from Java since 1958. Previous to his departure and in the subsequent years, various academies of music arose in Java based on or incorporating Western models which

replaced or adapted some of the historical traditions. The *rombongan* Hawai‘i’s performance in 1973 Java was influenced by and indicative of the previous generation’s training. Pattie Dunn’s contention, following Susilo’s death, that the UHJGE has a responsibility to continue his teachings suggests that the UHJGE may be just as or more representative of Susilo (and his views of Java) than they are of (their own views of) Java. It is worthwhile to question, however, what this means in terms of the nature of the UHJGE’s representation. In this instance, were they representing Java to the Javanese? That this was a true representation of something changed—lost may be too strong a word—is indicated by the apparent shame expressed by the Javanese observers. Does this mean, however, that the UHJGE offers an “authentic” representation of Java to their American audiences?

On the other hand, if a group strays too far from the original tradition, they invite accusations of pale pastiche, of (wanton) ignorance, or cultural theft. Creativity (see definition in Chapter 5 pg. 202) is thus met with mixed feelings. This seems to result in the hesitancy toward creativity expressed by Sutton at the beginning of this chapter. David Hughes agrees, writing that although his friends would “probably judge me as highly creative . . . somehow I have never felt the need to exercise major creativity in the musical language of other cultures. For me, the requisite novelty is obtained by learning new pieces or new musical languages rather than by creating new pieces myself (*a view I also try to transmit to students*)” (Solís 2004, 264; my emphasis). Like Sutton’s comment, Hughes’ statement makes various assumptions regarding creativity. It equates creativity with new creation (product) rather than with the versatility to act appropriately within the particular culture’s creative flow (process): the ability, for example, to draw on a bevy of *bonang barung* cadential patterns that correctly and artistically signal the end of a *kenongan* or *gongan*. The facility to draw on a plethora of *gender cengkok* to creatively and

appropriately navigate a section in irama 4. Susilo has both written and said that improvisation in Javanese gamelan differs from improvisation in the West: "In the West, the word improvisation is synonymous with ad lib, which implies a great deal more freedom than is allowed Javanese musicians."[49] If we may equate improvisation with creativity here, in the sense that improv is created in the moment and something which the musicians brings to the performance of a piece, Susilo notes that good Javanese improvisation/creativity consists of knowing "the borderline between 'too much' and 'not enough,' a fine line that is often very personal indeed" (ibid). Improvisation for Javanese musicians means "the freedom to set our own limitations" (1984, 49). Susilo's work with American students/players of gamelan involved teaching them about this borderline; because they do not have the cultural context on which to base this borderline, Susilo must draw it for them. Once it is drawn, however, the gamelan practitioners are free to creatively act within their own established boundaries. One major boundary that contributes to the coherence of the UHJGE is creativity that falls in line with the Javanese approach to improvisation.

Todd Lubart suggests that, in the West, "creativity is viewed as an *insightful production* achieved by an individual engaged in a working process with *a finite beginning and end*" (1999, 341; my emphasis). While I feel Lubart's explanation of "Eastern" and "Western" views of creativity is overgeneralized—the former as "circular movement in the sense of successive reconfigurations of an initial totality" and the latter as involving "a linear movement toward a new point" (ibid)—this conceptualization of creativity seems to fit assumptions suggested by Sutton and implied by Hughes and others: that creativity stems from an original, potentially spur-of-the-moment idea and results in a specific product. When occurring interculturally, this product—musical, material, literary—often comes at the expense of another culture's traditions.

Many scholars have written on this subject (Feld 1996; Root 1996; Ziff and Rao 1997). My work with the UHJGE suggests that they value a different conceptualization of creativity, one that relates to processual realizations in the moment. Thus, we may argue that Gary Dunn acts creatively when playing *bonang* by drawing from his own knowledge of *bonang garapan* and producing in the moment of performance new and varied sounds that fulfill appropriate roles in the context of the piece.

It is this kind of creativity that forms the basis of the UHJGE's musical representation of Java. Susilo's authority as culture bearer supports and potentially justifies their actions, even when they contradict (see pg. 256 below). We may take this a step further and suggest that the UHJGE's internal coherence is maintained by the authority Susilo has invested in its members.

Susilo's Memorial Concert

In order to bring together the many issues suggested in the above sections (e.g., musical standards, community/university positionality, representation, creativity, and authority), this final section analyzes the UHJGE's contribution to the April 18, 2015 memorial concert for Pak Hardja Susilo. I draw on my field notes and experience of performing with the group as well as the musicians' comments on this concert to contextualize and exemplify musical choices and connections identified by the UHJGE.

The day of Susilo's memorial concert dawned warm, and I arrived at the music department after a hasty and nervous lunch. I could not help but have mixed feelings about this concert. In addition to dealing with my own grief following Susilo's death, I had not played with the group for two years, having finished my coursework in Hawai‘i and moved back to Ohio. They welcomed me back and graciously allowed me to participate as a *gerongan* singer in the

concert. I was nervous because I was not as familiar with the vocal parts as I would have liked and because bubbling under the surface of this seemingly normal gamelan concert was a great deal of hope, expectation, and concern for the future. Many members of the UHJGE spoke of this concert as their first without Susilo. While this is technically untrue—as declining health had forced Susilo to abstain from at least one concert I performed in between 2010 and 2013—the weight of the statement supported its veracity. This was the first concert for which Susilo was not "just a phone call away." Here was our chance to musically honor his memory, his teachings, and the life and culture he brought and shared with us. Here too was the opportunity to continue the traditions of the UHJGE and to establish their importance for what the group may become in the future.

During breaks in rehearsal, current first wave members reunited with their former counterparts, laughing excitedly and reminiscing. They eagerly connected their current endeavor to previous experiences playing and dancing together under Susilo's instruction. I was struck by the apparent cognitive dissonance between the full meaning of this concert for the members and the fact that this powerful moment of remembrance and togetherness was also to be displayed for a paying audience. Susilo always opined that the gamelan concert and the preceding *selamatan* were for the community, a time to be and to make music together. At the same time, both he and Byron Moon recognized that this was the end-of-semester concert, and we were there to perform. Balancing these priorities is always tricky and added to this was the desire to play well, to show that we could continue without Susilo and to honor everything he meant to us.

Moon acknowledges this balance in his explanation of how this concert came about:

> There was no big meeting . . . I really felt a certain responsibility. What are we going to do? I wanted to acknowledge [Susilo], and at the same time, I've got a class to teach and there's other people in the group, and I can't just do what I want to do. So I talked to Andy [Sutton] about what would he like to do because there are certain things I think he

> can offer, and he suggested that Talu Banyumasan, which is great because it put like a whole new flavor, we'd never played anything like that before. But I wanted to have my class perform. And then, I was mentioning to Andy, we should play something that Sus really liked or was somehow that was a favorite of his. Of course, in the later years the pieces that were his favorites were these huge kind of real musician, the Javanese musicians think it's rare to play this piece and might not necessarily be something that an American audience would understand, appreciate, or even be interested in . . . So then the idea came up . . . oh Roger has that suite! And I thought if we're going to have Roger come, then we should have Val because she was one of [Susilo's] early dance students, and she's a very good dancer in that very refined style in that 'take you back to the palace' mood. And then from that, if you're going to have Val dance, you have to have Pattie dance. She's from the same vintage of dancers and so, and then it just kind of came together that way. So that's what we had: two pieces from the class, Pattie's dance, the Talu from Andy, the *golek* from Val, and the suite. So there it was. It just kind of, that kind of came together that way. I kind of didn't want to do the great big pieces because I think, for the audience, I wanted to make it just, keep it accessible. (p.c. Byron Moon 4/29/15)

Moon's straightforward explanation almost belies this concert's strong connection to the UHJGE's rich musical past. Despite the decision to perform "Roger's suite" instead of the large, involved musical pieces Susilo favored in his later years—pieces that, by Moon's account, Javanese musicians did not perform anymore—all the musical selections nevertheless conform to the various standards upheld by the UHJGE. The connections to history are most overt in his comments about Pattie Dunn and Val Vetter, two of Susilo's earliest dance students.[50] Pattie Dunn's explanation of learning "Gambyong Pangkur," the dance she performed for the memorial concert, connects her experiences with the UHJGE to Java, specific Javanese teachers, and Susilo:

> Pak Sus decided I should learn Gambyong Pangkur which is supposed to be the dance of a woman who knows she is beautiful and a natural dancer. The teacher he chose for me was Tebok who was a beautiful Solo style dancer and whose uncle danced at the Solo kraton. She actually sent me to Solo to work with her Uncle for a couple of days . . . Val Vetter who is a wonderful Jogjanese dancer and I had a good laugh when we both danced in honor of Pak Sus after his passing. We both did the dances Pak Sus initially chose for us. (p.c. Pattie Dunn 1/6/17)

Dunn also commented on the musical reconnection she made with Roger Vetter who drummed for her performance. It had been several years since they had performed together, but Dunn and he quickly resumed old habits of dancer/drummer interaction. In our conversation, she noted with pride that Roger said "they were really cooking" and immediately followed this observation with a reiteration of her feelings regarding the UHJGE as a *kampung* or family (see Chapter 4). For Dunn, then, this dance/musical offering solidified the profound connections she feels with the relationships Susilo fostered among his first students. In this performance, she not only embodies the beautiful and natural dancer, but also her own, long history with the UHJGE.

It is, perhaps, noteworthy that not all performers experienced these deep connections musically. Bill Remus, who played gong during Val Vetter's "Golek Ayun-Ayun," prefers to delay the gong stroke rather than strike it on the beat. While admitting this is his own personal preference, he also explains that "Sus tended to like the delays because it allowed those instruments to stand out" (p.c. Bill Remus 4/16/15). Val Vetter, however, "didn't like that. She wanted her move, rather than the move goes like this with the gong, she wanted *gong* [physically indicating she wanted her move to coincide with the gong strike]. So now I'm going to play the dance pieces on the mark" (ibid; emphasis in original). Thus, between members who have not regularly performed together, there exists some tension regarding correct and preferred dance and musical action. Both could point to Susilo for justification for their choices, however. This example demonstrates Susilo's contention that there are many ways to be right but that the final decision must be communal.

Moon's inclusion of "Talu Banyumasan" speaks to the UHJGE's practice of continually adding new pieces to their repertoire even as they continue to revisit and renew the older works. Incidentally, this is not the first time the group has performed something from or in the style of

"the Southwest Central Java regency of Banyumas" (program notes, Dec. 6, 2008). They have, for example, performed "Eling-Eling Banyumasan" beginning in April, 1978 and as recently as December, 2008.

Moon's students in the Javanese gamelan class performed "Gangsaran" – "Ladrang Jagung-Jagung" (*slendro pathet manyura*) and "Ladrang Sembawa" (*pelog pathet lima*). UHJGE members joined the students in playing both times. "Gangsaran" – "Ladrang Jagung-Jagung" is a combination first performed by these members in April, 1978. They performed this version in *pelog pathet barang*. Nine years later, they appended this pairing with several other pieces (i.e., "Gangsaran" – "Jagung-Jagung" – "Gangsaran" keseling "Manyar Sewu" – "Ganggong") in *slendro pathet nem*. They returned to the original pairing in December, 2007, again in *slendro pathet nem*. Thus, over the course of 39 years, the group has performed this piece at least four times in three different *pathets*.[51]

"Ladrang Sembawa" has received somewhat similar treatment albeit all within a single *pathet*. The piece was first performed in April 1972 in *pelog pathet lima*. Ten years later, the group revisited this piece but changed their treatment of it. Instead of playing it as an individual piece, they used it as the *minggah* for "Gendhing Tejasari." In October, 2006, they expanded this pairing to include "Ketwang Pangkur Ngrenas." Their 2015 performance brought them full circle, returning to the individual realization of "Ladrang Sembawa" that they learned as students in 1972. Susilo's "ancient students" joined Moon's current students to perform a piece that has been with the group almost from the beginning. The inclusion of these pieces thus upholds the UHJGE's standard practice of both revisiting previously performed repertoire and of blurring the line between student and community players.

Roger Vetter initially arranged the *Susilo Suite* for performance by his gamelan students at Grinnell College in the spring of 2004. The *Suite* contains six pieces: "Lancaran Ganggong," "Campuh," "Lancaran Ampyak," "Gangsaran," "Playon Pelog Barang," and "Ladrang Tedhak Saking." Vetter explains that all but the last were either introduced or created by Susilo to accompany the dance dramas he staged at UHM. Vetter did not learn "Ladrang Tedhak Saking" from Susilo but rather during his (Vetter's) work in the Kraton Yogyakarta. He says, however, that "Pak Sus was the one who introduced me to Yogyakarta and the Kraton Yogyakarta, which has subsequently been a context with which I have been engaged for over 40 years. So I included it in the suite to acknowledge that facet of my relationship with Pak Sus" (p.c. Roger Vetter 3/23/17). In his speech at the memorial concert, Vetter explains that several years previous, "when I was reflecting upon my experiences with Pak Susilo, I was trying to find a way that I could introduce him to my students who were playing gamelan in the middle of the corn and soybeans of Iowa" (4/19/15). The *Susilo Suite* is this introduction.

The *Suite* exemplifies the kind of layered and processual creativity favored by the UHJGE. Vetter attributes "Lancaran Ganggong," "Campuh," and "Lancaran Ampyak" to Susilo himself. The first two were created by Susilo to accompany the group's 1973 performance of the *Ramayana* while the third piece came from his 1976 production of *Arjuna Wiwaha* (p.c. Roger Vetter 3/23/17). There is some question as to whether "Lancaran Ganggong" is in anyway related to the piece "Ganggong" listed in the *Serat Centhini* (see Table 2). Sutton noted that the *balungan* for "Lancaran Ganggong" "was probably not from a recording or notation but from [Susilo's] memory, so might have been a little different here and there from the pre-existing piece (oral tradition in action)" (p.c. R. Anderson Sutton 3/27/17). "Campuh" is a tone poem that originally accompanied the battle between the "armies of Rama and the giant king Rahwana . . .

Susilo . . . revised the score to stand as a purely musical example, incorporating elements of Javanese, Balinese, and western music" (program notes, April 2007). The piece was revived in 2011 with more specific division between the Javanese and Balinese treatments.[52] Susilo likewise composed the main melody for "Lancaran Ampyak" which Sutton explains is "Balinese-inspired (and possibly Balinese-derived) but not borrowed [while] the *reyong* parts, played on the *bonangs* in Pak Sus' renditions, are direct borrowings of *reyong* interlocking patterns" (p.c. R. Anderson Sutton 3/24/17). All three pieces evidence some connection to Java but have been adapted over the years to fit various performance contexts as one would expect from "oral tradition in action." Vetter's use of these pieces in the *Susilo Suite* is the latest—but certainly not the last—iteration of these pieces. It is not simply a product of creativity but one point along a processual realization of creativity.

I would like to include one more incident that occurred during the preparations for Susilo's memorial concert. I add this here because it relates to issues of representation first introduced in Chapter 1. After eating with the gamelan members and being dressed by Pattie Dunn, I left the group to sit for a few moments by myself in the Barbara Smith Amphitheater. Despite all the concerts I had participated in with the UHJGE, this was the first where I could actually sit in the audience and observe the other gamelans. While I sat there waiting for the concert to start, I was approached by a chuckling Indonesian woman who asked if she could take my picture. I readily agreed but was also very consciously aware of how I looked. I wondered if she was laughing at the sheer novelty of a blonde-haired, green eyed woman in *kain, kabaya*, *stagen*, and *konde*. What did I represent to her in that moment? A "colonial terrorist" who, in Signy Jakobsdottir's eyes, acts from a position of power to take whatever they want? An outsider seduced by the exotic Other? A devoted musician who wants to experience as much of the world

as she can? These questions remained unanswered as she took my picture, thanked me, and quickly walked away. However, the question I posed in the first chapter—why am I trying to look like a Javanese woman?—was at that moment reflected back at me in the eyes of the Indonesian woman in front of me. I wondered what she really thought. Did she agree with my invested authority or was I, "like a moth to a bright light," just another drab Westerner who meddled in the traditions of other cultures? These are questions that I still struggle with as, like Naga Mas and the UHJGE, I negotiate my own agency and assert my invested authority.

Conclusions

Despite Susilo's assurances that he was "honored that you guys are studying the gamelan, that you think it is a worthy subject" (in Solís 2004, 66), questions concerning representation remain. For UHJGE members, Susilo was the *present* Other, and they incorporated his teaching and philosophies into their musical practices. Even though they identify Susilo as an individual, with his own quirks (bad jokes) and idiosyncrasies, he was also the final authority on all of their musical actions and endeavors. He was "the king, the sultan, the president." He was the one Vetter sought to introduce to his students through music. He was a bridge to Java and not only through his contacts and the trips he arranged. He embodied and created the cohesion that continues to sustain the UHJGE. And because of the authority he invested them with, UHJGE members spoke fervently about their responsibilities to him and their ability to carry his teachings into the future.

It is, perhaps, impossible for anyone to escape the power inequity that continues into the 21st century. But understanding why people do what they do has always been the prerogative of ethnomusicology. Examining the musical life stories of the UHJGE provides further insight into

the musical proclivities of affinity communities and shows us, in this case, their potential relation to ethnomusicology itself. It may be that community groups like the UHJGE are the natural outcome of representational concerns voiced and embodied by ethnomusicologists. They become, like ethnomusicologists, "hopeful antiorientalists," embodying the same lessons we teach in the classroom.

It is, however, Susilo's musical authority that has thus far guided the UHJGE and formed the basis of their identity as a community. To the very best of his ability, he trained them to be appropriate and creative representatives of his culture thereby creating a powerful coherence for the UHJGE as a community. This approach to representation has driven the UHJGE's conceptualization of themselves as a community group as well as their approach to creative music making. With his passing, it remains to be seen how these coherence principles and systems will affect this affinity community in the future.

As evidenced through analysis of music and repertoire, the UHJGE's coherence is maintained by authority invested in them by Susilo; Naga Mas' coherence is maintained by their negotiation of personal, communal, and external (Javanese) agency. Both represent ways of approaching and representing the Other. All the coherencies presented in this and the previous two chapters help explain the actions and functions of affinity community gamelans. The following chapter draws on these to suggest a framework through which we may view the multiple dimensions of affinity.

CHAPTER 7 Locating Affinity: A Multi-Dimensional Framework

Introduction

In order to demonstrate the diversity of affinity, this chapter examines an initial list of twelve independent dimensions of affinity as suggested by the background, contextual, and theoretical data presented in the previous chapters. These dimensions constitute a multi-leveled framework of affinity that is capable of including the (sometimes wide) variances between Naga Mas and the UHJGE. Instead of forcing affinity communities to fit a specific mold, the flexibility of these dimensions allows us to examine the nuanced realities of these communities. In so doing, affinity as a designation becomes more specific, more encompassing, and more useful. I begin with an explanation of the framework itself, then describe each dimension and its potential secondary dimensions (if any). All the dimensions contribute to a more pointed picture of affinity communities and provide scholars with other ways of understanding how they function.

In Chapter 1, I first introduced Mark Slobin's definition of affinity intercultures: "charmed circles of like-minded music-makers drawn magnetically to a certain genre that creates strong expressive bonding" (2000, 98). In Chapter 3, I demonstrated that this definition has been used and reused by numerous ethnomusicologists and other music scholars when discussing groups of individuals whose only apparent connection is the music they play. Slobin and Kay Kaufman Shelemay intimate that the defining characteristic of affinity communities is personal preference. At the outset of my research, I hypothesized that this definition was valid but too limited. It is insufficient to explain the experiences of Naga Mas and the UHJGE members. Analysis of these community gamelan members' life stories reveal both profound and nuanced reasons for their continued commitment to gamelan as well as different—and even

contradictory—interpretations of what community means, what their communities should do/be, and where cultural authority and agency are located. Attributing all this to choice and desire without understanding the groups' priorities and motivations undermines their work, commitment, and contributions; ironically, if scholars only focus on choice and desire, they actually limit their interlocutors' ability to exercise choice, specifically in how they identify themselves and their communities. This focus also negates the role that choice and desire play in other subcategories of community.

My own definition of affinity community (see pg. 115) incorporates the idea of people initially drawn together through interest but also acknowledges various other connections both recognized and created by the members. This definition—which is informed by the many dictionary definitions of affinity as well as the experiences and life stories of Naga Mas and UHGJE members— indicates that there is more implied by this term than culture scholars acknowledge. The term includes many different forms of connection and the communities recognize many different forms of realization. In other words, affinity communities are performed in multidimensional ways.

It is important to highlight the fact that I work with affinity communities who learn, teach, practice, and perform the music of the Other. This, in and of itself, is not necessarily a defining characteristic of affinity communities, but because it forms the basis of groups I work with, it does affect my analyses. While the following framework is applicable to affinity communities involved with their own culture's music, I feel beginning with groups that play music of the Other allows us a wider vista from which to explore the possibilities of affinity.

Locating the Community: A Multidimensional Framework for Musical Affinity Communities

The term "dimension" generally designates a measurement or property of space. We observe the movement of a point in three-dimensional space along the X, Y, and Z axes. Other points may exist in this space with our first point. By considering where each point is, we are contemplating its X-ness, Y-ness, and Z-ness, all of which locate and identify it. Thus, even though we perceive each axis as linear, the point itself exists in three-/multi-dimensional space.

By considering dimensions as "measurement[s] of growth and qualities of being; states of existence,"[1] we may utilize the above explanation to locate affinity communities within multiple dimensions. Using linear extremes to suggest boundaries of each dimension, we are able to perceive these communities as existing at different points in multidimensional space. Each dimension offers a different way of understanding how affinity communities function. The totality of the dimensions reveals the complex nature of affinity communities themselves. The point is not to compare communities in order to say, "*This* is an affinity community and *that* is not,"—to reify terminology before the complexity is fully understood—but rather to uncover and understand the plethora of ways affinity communities are made manifest.

The framework also suggests a reengagement with Shelemay's "continuum of community" (see Chapter 3 pg. 111-12). Instead of a strict linear relationship between points, this framework allows for interaction of the dimensions on multiple planes. The framework thereby questions the feasibility of separating the "'autological subject' whose life is imagined through the lenses of freedom and choice, and the 'genealogical subject' whose life is imagined as constrained by the baggage of kinship obligations" (Bigenho 2012, 96). Here, choice and desire become only one of many dimensions of affinity.

Each dimension of my framework examines a directly or indirectly measurable property of the affinity community. The framework allows us 1) to start with measurable properties that rely on generally objective data (e.g., "Who is the leader of your gamelan?") or by accumulating repertoire lists, performance dates and venues, and program notes from archival materials; 2) to perceive where questions of concern to ethnomusicologists are not sufficiently answered by this data; and then 3) to use these properties expansively together with ethnographic—and thus arguably more subjective—data to reveal the complexities and nuances of individual musical affinity communities. The questions posed by each dimension are not value judgements or meant to imply privileged boundaries; rather they are intended to identify the unique characteristics of individual communities, locating each community within various dimensions. These dimensions do not tell us who can(not) or does(not) belong to the community but instead tell us what the individuals who create the community do. In addition to revealing the depth and nuance of affinity communities in general, this also allows us to compare different gamelan affinity communities at specific moments in time as well as track the changes in the individual communities over time to see how activities, values, and coherences may have changed.

I have, to date, identified twelve dimensions of gamelan affinity communities (see list below). These dimensions are based on data collected from Naga Mas and the UHJGE, as well as areas of import suggested by members of these two groups. In this sense, affinity communities are twelve-dimensional and may be observed at many different locations within these dimensions.[2]

1. Banding/Bonding
2. Centrality of Leadership
3. Cohesion
4. Level of Political Involvement
5. Dependence on Outside Institutions
6. Member Compensation

7. Level of "Imagined" Interaction
8. Educational Inreach and Outreach
9. Time
10. Repertoire
11. Creativity
12. Negotiating Authority and Agency

Table 8 Dimensions of Affinity Communities

The dimensions are bounded by two extremes, which serve to define each dimension as independent from the others. The Education dimension, for example, is defined, on the one hand, by claiming a group is *only* involved with educational work and, on the other hand, by claiming a group is *never* involved with educational work. In reality, these extremes are rarely feasible, as truth, and the community, always exists somewhere in between. The dimensions' independence is important because it provides a means for separating each dimension and signifies that a change in one dimension does not necessarily affect other dimensions. For example, the dimensions of Member Compensation and Education are not diametrically opposed; a decrease in focus on education does not automatically result in an increase in focus on financial compensation. There may be, however, an event that exerts internal or external pressure on a community that causes changes in both of these dimensions. Ethnographic and archival work contextualizes and refines the community's location within this multidimensional space.

Many of the dimensions also have secondary dimensions which fall inside the overall boundaries of the primary dimension but also may be bounded by their own, more specific limits. Taking Education as our example once more, one may position an affinity community within the parameters described above but then refine those parameters to identify different forms or foci of education (e.g., history, listening, composition, improvisation, etc.). Taking another example—that of the Member Compensation dimension—one may start with the

boundaries of 1) each member of the community is *always* compensated for their contributions, and 2) each member of the community is *never* compensated for their contributions. This may be refined by examining forms of compensation (e.g., monetary, educational, affective) and by considering whether the members view any or all forms of compensation as appropriate.

Affinity communities can be examined in terms of any number and any combination of the following dimensions. The next section introduces each dimension in terms of what their application reveals regarding affinity communities.

The Dimensions

Banding/Bonding

This dimension takes as its defining boundaries the concepts of banding and bonding suggested by Slobin (2000). Each one, at its extreme, is useful to define a dimension that includes both. This dimension suggests that the truth of any musical community, but particularly musical affinity communities, lies somewhere in between the two. Slobin writes that banding is the purview of "performing units of professional and semiprofessional musicians that play for the pleasure of the paying customers" (98) and that it remains an aspect of "the inevitably commercial relationship" between band members and their audience. Bonding is, according to Slobin, the domain of affinity communities and while many factors may contribute to strong social bonding, the one common thread running through all types of affinity groups is "the transcendence that live performance offers. The 'quasi-trance' state one Vermont singer reports is shared by many members of affinity groups but is not commonly mentioned in interviews with dance band musicians" (106). This dichotomy assumes that bands never achieve any form of transcendence through communal performance. It also positions the band as fully prioritizing

their audience and the affinity group as fully prioritizing themselves. Using banding and bonding to frame this dimension allows us to dig deeper into the implications of these two positions, to question the assumptions made by both, and to identify opportunities between them.

One might identify parallels between the transcendence or "quasi-trans state" Slobin presents and psychology professor Mihály Csíkszentmihályi's flow state. Also known as being in "the zone," flow state was coined by Csíkszentmihályi to describe a state of being where a person is fully immersed in whatever activity they are taking part in. Csíkszentmihályi has defined flow as "Being completely involved in an activity *for its own sake*"[3] as opposed to bands who play to please their audience and make money.

While Mendonça's work suggests that brief moments of *communitas,* which can also include flow, are enough to keep members of the gamelan coming back, like "a powerful drug" (2002, 538), almost none of the members of Naga Mas or the UHJGE mentioned anything that could be described as flow state. When asked specifically about personal experiences related to performing, again almost no one responded with stories of being "in the groove" or "finding the flow," which one might assume would be natural for a gamelan ensemble where the whole musical point is to lock into a flow with the other parts and be ready and able to respond to changes as they happen in the music. When describing her experiences of learning gamelan, Katherine Waumsely points specifically to the desire to achieve and teach the kind of musical flexibility that allows for flow. What she emphasizes, however, is the practical musical awareness of self and others, not trying to achieve moments of musical transcendence (p.c. Katherine Waumsley 11/15/14). Naga Mas member Neil Wells attributed this same kind of transcendence not to his experiences with Naga Mas—indeed, he did not think this kind of

transcendental occurrence was particularly feasible for Naga Mas—but to his experiences with gigging bands.

Additionally, Slobin notes that within banding, "specialists . . . have put a great deal of time and energy into approaching a certain ideal of musical sound" (99). This is an apt description of the UHJGE which has had forty-eight years to establish their particular sound. Slobin also opines that banding includes being versatile and able to play different styles and genres—again solely to please a variety of audiences. The UHJGE has learned and perpetuates many different styles and treatments to please themselves and to educate their audience. Naga Mas has successfully utilized their versatility to acquire a wide-ranging, constantly growing repertoire that allows them to play in such diverse venues as the Glasgow Botanic Gardens, The Old Hairdresser's Bar and Gallery, and the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland. They have performed for visiting Javanese musicians, for families and children all over Scotland, and for the queen of England. Yet member Gordon MacKinnon insists that Naga Mas has always identified itself as a community group, not a band (p.c. Gordon MacKinnon 11/24/14).

Thus, instead of transcendence or flow state being a prerequisite for affinity communities and consideration of their audience not even an option, we may begin to consider how individual communities approach, teach, or market these kinds of musical concerns. Instead of being one or the other, Naga Mas and the UHJGE exhibit characteristics of both banding and bonding. In between banding and bonding, we locate entertainment, a middle ground which encompasses the practicalities and ideals of all performing musicians.

Centrality of Leadership

This dimension is a good example of rather straightforward, objective data being contextualized by deeper, ethnographic data, all of which serves to more clearly pinpoint the community's location within the dimension. It was suggested by one of Veblen's core issues, "Teaching, Learning, and Interactions," which questions the potential for flexibility in the role(s) of students, teachers, and leaders. This dimension was also inspired by Shelemay's observation that, "The role of a charismatic musician or performer is *often a particularly powerful element* added to the musical draw in the case of affinity communities" (2011, 22; my emphasis).

Shelemay's statement makes several assumptions regarding leadership in affinity communities that may be better contextualized by Veblen's core issue. In previous chapters, we saw how the UHJGE strongly locates leadership in Susilo and that Naga Mas is run by an elected committee (that includes a convener, a secretary, and a treasurer). Instead of postulating that this fact renders one group more of an affinity community than another, we may use the two conditions currently present in the UHJGE and Naga Mas to suggest the boundaries of this dimension. Again, since we are dealing with extremes, one boundary of the Centrality of Leadership dimension is total dictatorship while the other boundary is total democracy.[4]

On the surface, the UHJGE had a charismatic leader in Susilo.[5] Every member I spoke to identified him as a leading factor for their community as well as for their sense of community (see Chapter 4). Indeed, R. Anderson Sutton's confidence in Susilo's charismatic attraction and his supposition that Susilo's loss might mean a total[6] decline in interest in the gamelan is a testament to his importance. The effect of Susilo's loss on the community is perhaps best expressed in a Facebook post Pattie Dunn wrote eleven days after Susilo died:

> I am in the midst of Gorogoro. It is the part of the Wayang Kulit (Javanese shadow puppet play) when the world is in chaos . . . Pak Sus has left us and there is gorogoro for awhile but as in all wayang kulit the world will be restored to order as Pak has always taught us to believe. (1/26/15)

This brief statement reveals the power exercised by Susilo—the fact that his loss is enough to throw the world into utter chaos—and explains, at least for Dunn (although many others echoed this sentiment), how crucial Susilo was to the community itself.

Again, on the surface, a democratically-elected committee leads Naga Mas. The group has never had a long-term Javanese leader, charismatic or otherwise. Members have shared responsibilities to the extent that no one I queried regarding the initial formation of their current committee could identify an actual date. They instead insisted that the committee and leadership arose "organically" from how Naga Mas always functioned. J. Simon van der Walt commented that much of Naga Mas' eclectic identity and far-reaching interests are due to their lack of Javanese or "traditional" leadership (p.c. 12/1/14). The difference in perception of what is required for a Javanese gamelan ensemble to function outside of Java is so drastic between these two groups that, upon hearing about Naga Mas' particular situation regarding leadership, many members of the UHJGE queried, "So, what do they *do*?"[7]

Utilizing the flexibility of roles suggested by Veblen's core issue, however, uncovers more nuance in the leadership of both affinity communities. While Susilo was (and still is) venerated as teacher and leader, his students also took on various roles as teachers and leaders within the community as well: leading workshops, classes, and establishing the Hawaii Gamelan Society (HGS). In a similar way, while Naga Mas members may perceive their leadership organization as organic or natural, their status as an unincorporated association legally requires them to have an elected committee. New members of the committee may also not, in fact, be elected but rather proposed by outgoing members. Additionally, the role of music director, which

is crucial to the logistical workings of Naga Mas, is not required as part of their legal status. It is also possible that, given the situation, the music director may not be an active performer in the group. In both communities, to varying degrees, those who identify themselves as students may become leaders and those who identify as leaders may find themselves in the role of student again. Thus, even in affinity communities with clear, charismatic leaders, the rigidity of roles is, in fact, adaptable. So while the boundaries of this dimension provide specific questions to ask and characteristics to consider, the ethnographic data from individual affinity communities reveals the scope and depth of possibilities.

Types of Cohesion

This dimension as a whole measures principles identified by community members and/or ethnographers as contributing to the coherence of the community. The two (albeit unrealistic) boundaries for this dimension are: on the one hand, total connection and on the other, total disconnection. These boundaries are related to those suggested by Slobin's description of bonding which he describes as 1) "a tight, self-selected, welded sense of bonding" and 2) "a very loose, temporary, almost arbitrary affiliation" (2000, 105). These boundaries encompass, however, a multitude of more moderate and realistic truths. Thus we may consider, as secondary dimensions, different types of cohesion including: musical, obligational, philosophical or ideological, and even familial. This allows us to incorporate, but also move past, the truism that individuals chose to join and maintain gamelan groups simply because they like the music.

As we have seen in Chapters 2-4, members of the UHJGE identify relationships (friendships, dating, marriages,[8] and children) as well as the individual's relationship with Susilo as elements of cohesion. Indeed, Pattie Dunn and others interpret the UHJGE as a family itself.

They recognize obligation—to Susilo, to each other, and to tradition—as a major coherence principle. Some members use Indonesian/Javanese words as a medium to explain their connection to and perception of the community gamelan—for example Pattie Dunn's use of *kampung* and *gorogoro*. This demonstrates an intersection of cohesions: how the community is identified and the language used to identify it. In this case, Dunn's use of Indonesian/Javanese terminology forms a tripartite connection between herself, the community, and Java.

Naga Mas members also identify obligation as part of their cohesion, but unlike the UHJGE, whose obligations remain rather internally focused, Naga Mas directs their obligations externally: because of their custodianship of the Council's instruments, many in the group feel obligated to the people of Glasgow (and ostensibly to Scotland) to share their knowledge and access to the instruments. Curiosity, opportunity, and some aspects of *communitas* also function as cohering factors for both gamelan groups.[9]

These varied forms of coherence lead to several secondary dimensions that may be considered as Types of Cohesion. One possible secondary dimension may use Shelemay's attribution of descent as: "united through what are understood from within to be shared identities" (2011, 16). Shared identity is not limited to blood or kinship relations, however. Several scholars have noted various forms of homogeneity at work within community gamelan groups. In her 2012 master's thesis, "Sekaha Gong America: Affinity and the Balinese Gamelan Community in the United States and Canada," Ellen Lueck notes that participants in community gamelan ensembles tend to be white, college-educated, and politically and socially liberal (2012). While the UHJGE dispenses with the first criteria[10] as, for my three years with the group, I was one of three *haole*[11] performers, they do hold fairly closely to the other criteria. For Naga Mas, despite pervious members from Indonesia and Malaysia, their membership holds to

Lueck's criteria as well. This suggests further similarities and points of shared identity/cohesion among gamelan members in addition to the shared histories and experiences created as part of the gamelan community.

It is worth noting, however, the diversity claimed for gamelan groups by its teachers and members as well as the different kinds of homogeneity that are asserted. For example, in writing about his experiences teaching Balinese gamelan at Bowling Green State University in Ohio, David Harnish observes:

> Many of my students dress, look, and behave differently from 'mainstream' students. A music student who appears different is often informed about the gamelan by advisors . . . many students who consider themselves outside the norm somehow feel accommodated by the presence of the gamelan . . . Many of my students dress more casually or colorfully, have more body piercings or dyed hair, and frequently participate in drama and other arts . . . All typically express alternative and sometimes subversive 'takes' on food and popular culture. (in Solís 2004, 126-27, 131, 137)

Here, Harnish establishes a homogeneity that is much different from—yet not incompatible with—the one observed by Lueck. He nevertheless recognizes consistency/ies among those that participate in gamelan that may be different from the more "mainstream" music students; their differences are what they have in common.

In speaking with members of Naga Mas and the UHJGE, I also discovered a subtle emphasis on diversity. Member Jena Thomson noted that Naga Mas incorporates a "diverse group of people from all walks of life" (p.c. Jena Thomson 11/22/14). R. Anderson Sutton and Barbara Polk, members of the UHJGE, both commented on gamelan's ability to bring different people together, people who seem to have nothing else in common. In this sense, gamelan may not only attract similar people but, once diverse people are together in the context of gamelan, they find ways to facilitate or even create similar ideologies and world views. Thus recognizing the varying forms of cohesion identified by affinity community members both complicates and

explains personal preference: individual choice is not made in a vacuum, and the repercussions of an individual's choice can affect and reflect their values in ways that contribute to a sense of shared identity.

Desire for Difference/Interest in the Exotic

Here, I would like to examine a secondary dimension of cohesion in some detail. I feel this is important as curiosity about/desire for difference and exoticism is always already part of the assumptions regarding why Westerners participate in non-Western musical groups.[12] And it is true that many members of Naga Mas and the UHJGE—as well as members of gamelan groups interviewed by other scholars (Mendonça 2002; House 2013)—claimed an initial attraction to gamelan because it was different. Much of the scholarship on gamelan outside of Indonesia points to feelings of satisfaction and fulfillment that participants see as lacking in Western musical groups. Roger Vetter confirmed this by saying that the kinds of connections he experienced in gamelan were not replicated in other, Western musical ensembles like the orchestra or marching band. Given the work that members of Naga Mas, the UHJGE, and other gamelan affinity groups have done (and continue to do) to educate themselves and others on the repertoire and traditions of Javanese gamelan, as well as the creative work done to contribute to a globalized gamelan repertoire (see Chapter 5 and below), it is perhaps limiting to focus so solely on this characteristic of affinity communities.

It is just as important to note how members of these communities treat their interest in the exotic. Their initial captivation with difference was quickly qualified in ways to make the difference align with previous experiences or philosophies (Chapter 4). In different ways, both groups work to establish musical connection and cohesion even as they identify the music as

something Other (see Chapts. 5 and 6). Indeed, many members of both gamelans have embraced this difference as the norm, either because they found the differences to their liking or because the differences are, in fact, familiar. In my experience, a sole interest in the sonic, cultural, or visual exotic is sufficient to entice an individual to try a gamelan class or workshop. It is not, however, sufficient to explain an individual's decades-long commitment to a gamelan affinity community; there are far too many other factors contributing to an individual's loyalty and a community's coherence.

This is not to say, however, that a desire for difference or an interest in the exotic has no bearing on affinity communities, particularly those practicing and performing non-Western music in the West. Sometimes the affinity community may even use the gamelan's exoticness to their advantage. Several members of Naga Mas and the UHJGE commented on the immediate visual spectacle that gamelan instruments offer. Naga Mas takes advantage of this fact in their promotional literature which often features glossy images of the Spirit of Hope instruments. Participants in their beginners' workshops have commented on the exotic sound of the instruments and some, overwhelmed by the various parts, prefer to just sit and listen. If these participants stay with the group, these sights and sounds slowly begin to change from different to familiar.

When this happens, an individual's interest may take on a different focus. For example, UHJGE members' initial attraction to gamelan gave way to interest in more difficult instruments, more complex repertoire, and deeper knowledge of Javanese gamelan traditions and of the culture itself. Naga Mas members' initial attraction gave way to an interest in composition, to understanding the functionality of the instruments, and to joint or solo creative projects.

This secondary dimension ultimately questions the assumption that desire for difference or the exotic is the sole motivating factor that creates and maintains affinity communities. Instead, it looks to how much this desire is a part of an individual's attraction, how the communities themselves may utilize their recognized exoticness in order to support themselves, and how that initial desire changes focus over time. The full Cohesion dimension, then, allows us to identify and explore various common beliefs, interests, and values that hold affinity communities together.

Level of Political Involvement

This dimension also looks to Shelemay's contention that, while defined by very distinct motivations, there may be "subtle traces" of descent and dissent within affinity. Shelemay defines dissent communities as those which arise quickly in response to a specific event or circumstance and may position themselves in opposition to a dominant majority (2011). She connects this with political and ideological resistance and notes that dissent communities use music to rally people to their cause, to make statements regarding undesirable political/religious/economic situations, and to spread their message widely. While Shelemay acknowledges connections between dissent and affinity communities, her examples usually take the form of a dissent community or processes of dissent "transcending their dissent status [to] attract a sizeable affinity community" (23). While it is not Shelemay's intention to suggest total separation between dissent and affinity, she does use specific characteristics and motivations to identify each as independent of each other: ideological commitments and connections (dissent) and individual volition (affinity).

As suggested by my work with Naga Mas and the UHJGE, however, it is clear that affinity can and does encompass "ideological commitments and connections." Naga Mas' inclusion of a bagpiper and several distinctly Scottish folk songs in their *Wayang Lokananta* performance may be interpreted as a political statement given the present development of the Scottish Independence Referendum. Bringing "Scottishness" to an English gamelan event may also be interpreted as a statement on inclusion and creativity; arguably a different kind of political statement. One might argue further that the establishment of the HGS by the UHJGE was also a political statement or an act of resistance. UHJGE members were dissatisfied with their treatment by the university and wanted to take action to assure some form of autonomy. This also helps them resist (the perception of) their dependence on the university.

While neither group exhibited strongly overt political leanings nor arose specifically in retaliation to a larger social or political action, in these small acts of creative resistance both demonstrate that the possibility exists for affinity communities in general. The point here is not to collapse dissent into affinity or to argue that commonalities between affinity and dissent communities makes one redundant. The point is to acknowledge the elements of dissent, like political involvement, that do affect affinity communities in ways that do not require an affinity community springing from a dissent community or a dissent community turning into an affinity community. In both the absence and presence of dissent, we learn much more about the capacities and proclivities of affinity communities.

Dependence on Outside Institutions

This dimension considers the varied amount of (in)dependence gamelan affinity communities exhibit. No community exists in a vacuum and, as Ruth Finnegan suggests ([1989]

2007), there are networks or pathways that exist between different entities, be they small communities, arts organizations, city councils, schools, universities, museums, embassies, etc. A gamelan affinity community may, however, fall anywhere between the extremes of total dependence on and total independence from any outside institution.

Because of this, this dimension addresses the contention (exemplified at the beginning of Chapter 2) that community and academic gamelans are the same thing. I have argued that overlaps between academic and community gamelans, as suggested by Lueck (2012), complicate the designation of a community (see Chapter 3). A closer parsing of her criteria as it applies to the UHJGE reveals the complicated nature of (in)dependence. Lueck notes that academic groups are found in college or university departments, may hire a visiting or permanent Indonesian musician, and are often run by ethnomusicologists or world music faculty. Community groups, according to Lueck, are not affiliated with an academic institution, are self-run, and often support their ensemble by establishing themselves as a non-profit organization. Even as she establishes these separate criteria, Lueck observes that an academic gamelan may be offered as a club with no academic credit and may include community members. She also remarks that, "Sometimes the instruments used by a community group are housed at a college or university where they also practice, but may otherwise remain an autonomous entity" (ibid). Lueck's observations and my fieldwork indicate that the relationships between affinity communities and other formal institutions or organizations are not always completely straightforward.

If considering that the UHJGE 1) is housed in a university music department; 2) was, at one time, a for-credit class and became a non-credit club; and 3) was led by a permanent Indonesian musician and ethnomusicologist hired by UHM, one might argue that they are, in fact, an academic gamelan ensemble. However, if considering that 1) the UHJGE is self-run; 2)

they established the HGS, a non-profit organization, to support themselves; and 3) according to his wife, Susilo was never paid by the university for his activities with the UHJGE following his retirement, the distinction between academic and community becomes less well-defined. It is, therefore, useful for this dimension to incorporate various shades and levels of dependence, as well as the possibility for changing or shifting dependencies.[13]

We may further complicate this by questioning the meaning and relativity of "outside" institution. For the gamelan members who established the HGS, that organization functions to separate them from the university and provide financial independence. For these members, the HGS is just another part of the UHJGE and as such is inside the community. For the anonymous member who advocated for the UHJGE's autonomy *from* the HGS, however, the HGS itself was perceived as an outside institution; one which complicated things for the UHJGE and on which, she felt, the UHJGE was too reliant. It is thus not enough to merely consider a gamelan group's relationship to an academic or cultural institution which may house and own the instruments; it is also vital to consider relationships between the performing group and other organizational bodies established by the group itself.[14]

We might also interrogate different forms of (in)dependence that are suggested by and incorporated in the boundaries of this dimension. As stated above, the HGS gives the UHJGE financial independence from UHM. In the eyes of some members as well as some UHM faculty, however, the very fact of certain members' longevity in the group problematizes the idea of the community group as an independent entity. For example, Ricardo Trimillos commented that although "some people who were not veterans got interested, so it became more of a community group, but it was really spearheaded by those who had gone through the class . . . So, I mean, if you look at the people who are the musical leaders even now, [they] were mostly the ones who

had gone through the class" (p.c. Ricardo Trimillos 11/16/15). Other members' questioning of their status as a community reflects, in part, this connection to the university as a class and (re)establishes the members' identity as (former) students. Even though members of the UHJGE do not pay tuition, do not receive any kind of university credit, and even though Susilo himself was not paid for his work with the community group, this situation reveals two other forms of dependence perceived by insiders and outsiders of the community.

One revolves around membership, as the community group may only draw its members from the university's Javanese gamelan class. It is very difficult for university students, faculty, or staff who have not taken this class to join the community group, and it is nearly impossible for interested community members not affiliated with the university to join. There is also a kind of perceptual dependence which positions members as perpetual students. As long as they are identified as/with students, it remains feasible for them to use the instruments; if they were to be perceived as completely independent of the university (i.e., no longer students), it would become more difficult to justify their use of the instruments. It was also suggested in the previous chapter that the UHJGE's relationship with the university justified their representation of Javanese gamelan music and traditions. Severing the connection might likewise prove difficult for the university at least in justifying the community's continued representations.[15]

Naga Mas' scenario offers other possibilities for (in)dependence. While the instruments are owned by the Glasgow City Council, Naga Mas is responsible for finding and renting housing and rehearsal space. The Council used to provide a small budget for hiring teachers, giving workshops, and staging performances. As of late, this policy has changed such that Naga Mas must now apply for monetary support from the Council. In the past, they have also applied for various other types of grants to support their activities, and currently, the group has begun

charging a small fee for each rehearsal, asking members to now contribute monetarily as well as volunteer for other organizational and leadership aspects of the community. Because of this, Naga Mas has been able to remain an independent organization and not affiliated with or supported by any one institution.

There are, however, other ways that Naga Mas is dependent on outside entities. An example of this arose prior to Glasgow's 2015 Discover Indonesia Festival. The Festival was hosted by Cryptic, an art house founded in 1994 to support "artistic innovation and creative risk-taking."[16] Regarding Discover Indonesia particularly, Cryptic's website notes that it is a "pilot programme of New Pathways. Cryptic's New Pathways aims to present exciting work from lesser known countries and regions in Scotland. The aim of this programme, and future New Pathways events, is to expand our horizons, inspire cross-cultural learning and strengthen intercultural dialogue."[17] Naga Mas has been working toward these very same goals—albeit on a smaller scale—for the past twenty-eight years. Cryptic, however, never invited Naga Mas to participate in Discover Indonesia. Van der Walt was convinced that Cryptic knew there was a gamelan in Glasgow but deliberately did not include them until it was no longer feasible to refuse. At that point, they scheduled Naga Mas' performance to conflict with several other events including workshops given by visiting Indonesian musicians. They also put the description for Naga Mas' show, *Gamelan Untethered,* at the very end of the physical program even though they performed on the first night of the Festival.

Thus, even though Naga Mas has been working for nearly three decades in Glasgow to promote Javanese gamelan music and culture as well as support new creative works and intercultural dialog, they ended up dependent on Cryptic—a larger and more well-funded organization—for inclusion in this festival. They were also dependent on Cryptic to properly

support and publicize their performance.[18] From this example, we may see how even a community group which is essentially self-reliant does not exist in a vacuum and may find itself in a position of temporary dependence on an outside institution.

This dimension thus reveals fluctuation in the distinction between academic and community gamelans as well as suggesting the idea that dependence on an outside institution may not be a permanent part of an affinity community.

Member Compensation

As has been noted in previous literature, the majority of affinity community members seem to locate compensation in feelings of belonging, good will, performance satisfaction, etc.[19] Compensation can take many forms, however. For this reason, the initial boundaries of this dimension are: 1) members are compensated for their activities and contributions to the community gamelan group in only one way, and 2) members are compensated for their activities and contributions to the community gamelan group in every way. These extreme, and not necessarily enlightening, boundaries then help us identify various secondary dimensions (e.g., monetary compensation, social compensation, teaching/learning compensation, affective compensation, etc.).

In certain respects, monetary compensation—as a secondary dimension—is related to Slobin's notion of banding because performing for a paying audience is one of the defining characteristic of bands (Slobin 2000). As was noted in Chapter 3, the necessary reality of volunteers has created some, if not friction, consternation among certain members of Naga Mas who either feel their work for the group should be compensated monetarily or who have been forced to choose between volunteering for Naga Mas and getting paid freelance work. A similar

topic came up in discussion with certain members of the UHJGE who noted that Susilo and Moon in particular were not compensated monetarily for their work in the community group. Some tried to find other ways to repay Susilo for his commitment.[20] Further resentment arose when certain dancers were paid by Susilo and others were not (Trimillos).

In Western countries, money is often given to show gratitude and tribute; through the term honorarium, we connect honoring someone with monetary reward. Receiving money for some service is also culturally connected to recognition. No one I spoke to in either group was expecting to make a living playing or teaching gamelan. As MacKinnon said, he would be happy being paid "peanuts" if it meant recognition for his time and work (p.c. Gordon MacKinnon 11/24/14). For MacKinnon, the money is more valuable as a symbol of compensation.

Some members voiced a desire for recognition in other ways. Pattie Dunn, for example, explained the frustration she felt at the idea of her work and dedication being ignored by Susilo (p.c. 4/29/15). Dunn's desire for compensation here takes the form of verbal or behavioral recognition rather than monetary compensation.

Still other members identify different ways in which they are compensated. Amit Chaturvedi's compensation comes in the form of opportunities for the "constant scope for improvement in musical skill, and growth in understanding and appreciation" (p.c. 9/8/16). Barbara Polk's compensation came initially in the form of stress relief from a difficult job and following retirement, in the form of musical and performance satisfaction. Other members of both groups pointed to the social aspects of gamelan—Mendonça's sociable musicality and musical sociability—as ample compensation for their time and efforts.

Each individual recognizes several forms of compensation. MacKinnon's interest in monetary recognition does not negate his genuine pleasure in playing and performing with Naga

Mas. Dunn's desire for Susilo's affirmation should likewise not refute her own satisfaction with the UHJGE. People interpret and experience compensation in numerous ways, and their expectations of and satisfaction with these various forms of compensation do change over time. (Ideas about) compensation can also have subtle but powerful effects on affinity communities, even and particularly those dependent on volunteers. MacKinnon's and others' concerns have led, in part, to turnover on Naga Mas' organizational committee. The UHJGE's work to acquire a parking pass for Susilo was seen by some as a way of correcting an unfair oversight made by the university; it positioned the community itself as distinct from the university. This dimension then allows us to consider not only the types of compensation that affinity community members achieve, appreciate, or demand. It also allows us to see how attitudes toward compensation affect the communities themselves.

Level of Imagined Interaction

It is, perhaps, safe to say that every gamelan community group outside of Indonesia (and perhaps even those within Indonesia) imagines and invents itself on several levels. Here, imagines is related to an affinity community's perception of Java: "We are doing this the way they do it in Java," or "We are *not* doing this the way they do it in Java." There is, as Peter Steele opines, an imagined projection of what gamelan is like "over there," and depending on how much the community and the individuals have had direct contact with Java, that imagined projection may be more or less realized, romantic, or realistic. The communities are imagined in the further sense that there exists a globalized gamelan community made up of members who may never actually meet but who communicate through social media, draw from at least one centralized pool of repertoire,[21] and who train with a network of teachers. As Pattie Dunn's

comment—"It's like we're part of a big, world-wide *kampung*"—suggests, some community gamelan ensembles may recognize strong connections to fellow gamelan players who are not part of their immediate community. Similarly, some community gamelan ensembles recognize the potential for strong connections but do not actually experience them.

While the above implies two different uses of the term *imagine*, we will rely on the second, informed by Benedict Anderson's seminal term *imagined communities*. The boundaries for this dimension are: 1) a community only exists as relationships between people who meet regularly face-to-face and who all know each other; and 2) a community only exists as relationships between people who have never met face-to-face and who do not all know each other. Shelemay's definition of musical community already includes both face-to-face and imagined aspects, but establishing this as a dimension of affinity is useful for understanding how the communities perceive themselves. While some have argued that the UHJGE is not a community because of their connections to UHM, most of the members also recognize strong connections to former members, teachers, children, and scholars who they perceive as part of their experience of gamelan. The UHJGE, then, does not only exist in the weekly rehearsals and end-of-semester performances of members living in Honolulu. It also exists as part of the history of gamelan in the United States; the history of non-Indonesian performers/performances in Java; and it exists as a global web of people who have participated in and been inspired by the community's activities.

Members of Naga Mas do not imagine themselves quite so widely, but they too recognize connections between their immediate community and former members, teachers, and scholars who are not present. When leading workshops or classes, van der Walt references ethnomusicological works on gamelan, and when searching for information on a piece of music

or a particular technique, he avails himself of the Dartmouth Gamelan Listserv, YouTube, and the Internet in general. When planning workshops, performances, or festivals, Naga Mas members also reach out to gamelan tutors and teachers in England and abroad. Thus in contrast to Shelemay's contention that affinity community is defined by the participants' "desire for social proximity," (2011, 21-22), Naga Mas and UHJGE members imagine themselves as part of a larger, global whole.

Educational Inreach[22] and Outreach

As a dimension of affinity, Education looks at how much or how little a community engages in educational work. The boundaries of this dimension are: 1) a group *never* participates in educational work, and 2) a group *only* participates in educational work. This dimension encompasses several secondary dimensions as well including: the type of education (e.g., historical, theoretical, compositional, etc.); where it is directed (e.g., at young children, at college students, at families, at disabled participants, at community gamelan members themselves, etc.); and how it is presented (e.g., with or without notation, with or without instruments, as a lecture, as a communal activity, as a performance, etc.). These secondary dimensions shed further light on an affinity community's priorities.

For example, an affinity community might couple education with entertainment, as Naga Mas often offers a children's or family gamelan workshop prior to a performance during which they explain a little about the gamelan—in both Indonesia and Scotland—and teach the participants a short *lancaran* like "Ricik-Ricik." An affinity community might also include educational literature in their concert programs, as the UHJGE provides detailed program notes on each piece they play and have historically included explanations on *wayang kulit* structure,

story synopses, pictures and names of each puppet, instructions for proper audience etiquette, short histories of gamelan and introductions to each instrument, as well as biographic information on guest artists, Susilo, and the UHJGE itself. In both ways, affinity groups control and structure the educational content as well as how it is presented. The learning happens through participation at various levels and utilizing different media (e.g., verbal instruction, instrumental playing, and reading material).

This is, however, education that is directed outwardly to an audience. The Education dimension also includes internal learning and may look at how much of the affinity community's rehearsal or other non-performance time together is spent educating themselves. Member Bill Whitmer offered a four-week workshop on *gendhing* to members of Naga Mas in 2014. This was not open to the public but instead allowed Whitmer to share his knowledge of certain gamelan repertoire rarely performed by Naga Mas. This workshop also allowed those who had studied in Java or with other gamelan teachers to recall their experiences, to confirm certain techniques with Whitmer, and to contribute to the bank of knowledge held by the community. Naga Mas also takes other opportunities to educate themselves about gamelan. When outlining the group's activities planned for 2015, MacKinnon noted:

> In January, we're having a sort of instrument cleaning and retuning and going over the care of instruments . . . Simon will be involved with that. It's just going over how instruments, how they can be retuned, how we can fix anything broken, and maybe just the origins of the instruments, the makers . . . history and maintenance. (p.c. 11/24/14)

Both Naga Mas and the UHJGE also invite visiting artists to teach and give lessons to the community gamelan members. This allows them to benefit from outsider knowledge, hone their skills, and expand their repertoire.

As many community gamelan members have noted, the opportunities to learn new music and to learn about a different culture are significant reasons for both initial and continued

involvement. Many gamelan members interviewed during my and others' fieldwork (see Mendonça 2002; House 2012) also find a great deal of satisfaction in educating others about the gamelan. For albeit very different reasons—the UHJGE's connection to UHM as well as to Susilo who valued gamelan education very highly, and Naga Mas' perception of themselves as custodians of Spirit of Hope and responsible for presenting Javanese gamelan in/to Scotland—both these affinity communities place a high priority on educating their audiences. Because of this responsibility, they also seek and create many opportunities to educate themselves. This is important in light of concerns regarding authenticity and the potentially negative repercussions of Western representation of non-Western cultures. Education, perhaps more than strict or facile imitation, allows affinity communities to offer more than pale pastiche (Sorrell 2007).

Time

Time's relation to affinity is one that is hinted at in the literature but not directly addressed. Descriptions by Appadurai (1996), Erlmann (1998), and Slobin (2000) suggest that, because affinity is based on the whims of individual preference, affinity communities are more random, temporary, and free-floating than other forms of community. Shelemay acknowledges the brevity of dissent communities which, she writes, are likely to form and dissolve quickly, but because of the accompanying descriptors (see Chapter 3 pg. 113), affinity is still associated with the changeable nature of human interest. This is evident in the dearth of scholarship on affinity communities that have, apparently despite the very nature of affinity, persisted for decades.

Taking another approach, Neil Wells commented that members of Naga Mas did not spend enough time with each other to easily facilitate the moments of transcendence often associated with affinity communities. This was in reference to discrete moments of time—

specifically length of rehearsals; he was not necessarily accounting for the cumulative time Naga Mas has existed as a community. UHJGE members use age (an extension of time) as a symbolic boundary of their community. Members of both groups reference the importance of an individual's time, identifying time as a thing of value to be given, recognized, and in some cases honored. Time accounts for the cumulative *communitas* described in Chapter 3. It takes time to accrue enough experiences to achieve this form of togetherness; it takes time to establish a group as a community with specific goals, aspirations, and histories.

From this, it is clear that time plays a role in affinity, but like so many other characteristics, it may be interpreted differently. It is difficult to create boundaries for time that help define it as a dimension independent from others. One set of potential boundaries are: 1) it takes no time to become an affinity community, and 2) it takes all of time to become an affinity community. These represent extreme boundaries that encompass more credible truths and may help us determine how long a community must exist for members to feel/establish fundamental connections and for those fundamental connections to contribute to the coherence of the community as a whole.

Repertoire

As demonstrated in Chapters 5 and 6, Naga Mas and the UHJGE offer very different examples of potential repertoire performed and created by gamelan affinity communities. This is consistent with previous research (Diamond 1992; Mendonça 2002; House 2013; Steele 2013) on gamelan groups which have evidenced strict adherence to, general acknowledgement of, and even total abandonment of Javanese musical practices. If Jody Diamond (1998), Neil Sorrell (2007), Peter Steele (2013), Sapto Raharjo (2016), and others are correct in their assessment that

gamelan has truly gone global, then it may be possible to consider a much wider repertoire *as* gamelan music. This dimension allows us to examine the music performed by gamelan affinity communities which may include pieces written in traditional Javanese style and using traditional Javanese performance practice (e.g., "Ricik-Ricik"); music written for gamelan instruments (e.g., "Selunding"); music played on gamelan instruments but not originally written for them (e.g., "Ca' the Yowes"); music written for gamelan that is played on other instruments (e.g., "Adrift and Afloat"); fusion pieces that join gamelan with other forms and genres (e.g., "Joko Jive" and "Gamelunk"); and perhaps even music written for other instruments using gamelan techniques (e.g., *Balinese Ceremonial Music*). In order to encompass all these possibilities, the (again, unrealistic) boundaries of this dimension are: 1) A group performs only traditional Javanese gamelan music and 2) A group performs only newly composed[23] works on their gamelan instruments.

Noting the types of music performed and created by gamelan affinity communities does several things. It problematizes the view of affinity community members as passive consumers—often of another culture's music—and repositions them as contributors to a global repertoire. It also has the potential to identify individuals outside of academia who are working in various ways to support, preserve, and represent traditional Javanese music and culture; Diamond's comment that, "Perhaps those who participate in a tradition's evolution have the most need of its preservation" (135) is as true for affinity communities as it is for academic institutions. It additionally may highlight various ways communities are trying to reconnect with their own cultural traditions. Naga Mas' incorporation of bagpipes and Scottish folk songs is one example of this. Perhaps most importantly, understanding the variety of music learned, performed, and created by affinity communities widens the scope of gamelan repertoire. It allows composers and

initiators all over the world to contribute to the definition of gamelan music and provides scholars the opportunity to examine the implications of a global world music genre.

Creativity

As was argued in Chapters 5 and 6, both Naga Mas and the UHJGE utilize varying forms of creativity. Members of Naga Mas produce new works that imaginatively combine Javanese gamelan sounds, instruments, and performance practices with various other forms of music. Members of the UHJGE resourcefully use skills and knowledge to realize different treatments of Javanese gamelan pieces in ways consistent with Javanese musical practices. In this sense, both communities adhere to Sternberg and Lubart's definition of creativity: "the ability to produce work that is both novel (i.e., original, unexpected) and appropriate (i.e., useful, adaptive concerning task constraints)" (1993, 3).

These two approaches reveal how creativity can manifest itself in different ways. Creativity is often paired with self-expression. Marilyn Fryer and John Collings note that "creativity is perceived mainly in terms of 'imagination,' originality' and 'self-expression'" (1991, 207). This is in keeping with Butler, Weinstein, and members of Naga Mas' perception of authenticity as well. Sutton's comments (pg. 33) likewise pair creativity with self-expression in ways that seem to indicate that creativity and self-expression are not appropriate to traditional Javanese gamelan music; or, at the very least, are not appropriate to the Western representation of it. Chapter 6 refuted this by connecting creativity to Javanese improvisation and noting that UHJGE members may act creativity in the realization of correct—as Sternberg and Lubart write: appropriate—*garapan*. Here, we see J. Simon van der Walt's pieces of idiom at work in different ways. Naga Mas uses them for influence and imitation in the construction of new works as well

as in the realization of traditional Javanese works. The UHJGE uses them in moments of performance to successfully and artistically realize the imitation of traditional Javanese gamelan music.

Thus the bounds of this dimension are suggested by splitting Sternberg and Lubart's definition. Creativity may be expressed in affinity communities, on the one hand, through the production of innovative works completely disconnected from Java and, on the other hand, through appropriate realization and imitation of Javanese treatment, style, and performance practice. This dimension not only allows us to explore the various approaches to creativity that affinity communities take, it also allows us to see those communities which strongly conform to imitation as also acting creatively. This also admits the possibility of creativity without self-expression or that self-expression may still exist in highly structured musical situations.

Negotiating Authority and Agency

Issues of power and authority are inherent in any discussion of Westerners performing, learning, and teaching non-Western music. Consciously or unconsciously, individuals and affinity communities negotiate the location of authority and their perception of agency. The boundaries for this dimension are then 1) a group claims total authority over the music and culture, and 2) a group claims no authority over the music and culture. In this way, it may seem as though I am setting insiders against outsiders. One may infer that Javanese musicians, as cultural bearers and insiders, embody a group that may claim total authority over gamelan traditions. This has not been my experience, however. Susilo, Joko, Martopangrawit, I Made Widana, Sumarsam, Sapto Raharjo, and so many others have, in various ways, suggested that

gamelan is not the sole purview of Java, let alone of themselves. All of these men, as teachers and leaders of gamelan, have worked to invest authority in all their students around the world.

This is not to say that this is the only attitude with respect to musical borrowing/cultural representation in general and of gamelan in particular. Ellen Lueck writes that the question of musical ownership remains "in some perpetual cultural grey area. This ownership can only be self-proclaimed. To a Balinese gamelan artist, gamelan in North America is still a borrowing of sorts" (2012, 134-135). Still, where do we as scholars and musicians situate this cultural appropriation? Are we to understand Naga Mas in the same light that Steven Feld presents Herbie Hancock (1996)? When asked about his use of a BaBenzélé tune for "Watermelon Man" and his lack of acknowledgement or compensation, Hancock justifies his use by making connections between himself and the BaBenzélé as musicians of African descent. He implied that because of this connection, they would understand and recognize his music. This, in Hancock's estimation, justified his actions.

There are, of course, some significant differences between Hancock's scenario and those of Naga Mas and the UHJGE. Members of Naga Mas and the UHJGE obviously cannot and do not claim the kind of shared ethnic and historic social oppression that Hancock claims in common with the BaBenzélé. The two gamelan affinity communities also do not operate within the world music industry on the same level as Hancock. It is the moral implications of Hancock's actions and opinions that are relevant here. Hancock's belief that "I don't actually need to go over there and talk to them, I could do it but I know that it's OK" (Feld 1996, 6) carries the same assumptions supposedly at work within affinity groups: the idea that powerful attraction and assumed connections justify appropriation and benefit. It is also negated by the simple truth that

many gamelan affinity community members have and do "go over there" and not only talk to, but learn from, collaborate and share with, and in various ways support Javanese musicians.

Identifying this dimension allows us to address the cognitive dissonance suggested here and in Chapter 1 (pg. 18): that affinity communities are somehow simultaneously *guilty* of cultural theft and *absolved* of any responsibility because their driving motivation is love for the music/culture. Instead of assuming these two extremes, we may instead seek to understand how communities identify and negotiate authority and agency: do they seek it from native culture bearers; do they feel it has been granted to them; do they claim any kind of authority based on their own personal agency and experiences? As we have seen in just two gamelan affinity communities, members evidence a wide range of responses to and interpretations of authority. Even in Naga Mas, a community group seemingly driven by personal creative interest, members split authority and agency—and their related associate, authenticity—between themselves and Java. Both are perceived as active, creative agents. And while UHJGE members attribute all power to Susilo, they also act with his invested authority. Perhaps most importantly, this dimension reveals that the people who play gamelan are concerned with issues of authority and agency and that their relationship with these two are more complicated than hitherto acknowledged.

Conclusions

The scenarios of Naga Mas and the UHJGE expand the previously assumed nature of affinity communities by combining aspects of banding and bonding; by both confirming and confounding the necessity of a single, charismatic leader; by adding types of cohesion beyond that of personal preference including shared ideologies and identities; by blurring the lines

between academic and community; by showing the relevance of multiple forms of compensation; by including the importance of both internally- and externally-focused education; by suggesting that time is a necessary component of affinity, thereby negating the notion that affinity communities must be random or temporary; and by revealing that affinity goes far beyond face-to-face encounters to encompass connections—familial, obligational, musical, generational—that span the globe. These dimensions further support my definition of affinity community (see Chapter 3, pgs. 115-16) by accounting for the ways in which a group of individuals—brought together initially through shared interests—create coherent, shared identities that interact with and relate to the "home" musical tradition in some way.

One particular implication of this far-reaching affinity—what I term gamelaning—is explored in the following, final chapter along with a return to my initial premises and consideration of areas for future research.

CHAPTER 8 Accents and Gamelan(ing): Addressing Affinity's Role in the Global Gamelan Culture and Research

In this dissertation, I set out to address three specific premises: 1) gamelan affinity communities in Western countries create new contexts for non-Western music but tend to be overlooked because of the gamelan grand narrative; 2) community as a concept is capable of encompassing positive and negative attributes; and 3) Mark Slobin's frequently-used definition of affinity intercultures is valid but limited. This chapter addresses each premise in turn and expands on some of their implications. I then explore gamelaning and how the nuances suggested by the various dimensions of affinity may lead us to a wider conceptualization of what gamelan means. I propose areas for further research and conclude with consideration of the various accents of a global gamelan music culture.

Premises

Referencing the first premise, Naga Mas and the UHJGE both create contexts for the performance of gamelan music on several levels. On the most basic level, their performance venues/contexts are, in some ways, quite similar to those found in traditional and contemporary Java; university campuses, open-air pavilions, and theaters are not unfamiliar places to experience gamelan in Java or indeed in other parts of the US and the UK. Naga Mas in particular expands on these contexts by performing in pubs and hospitals. Performing at the annual West End Festival and at noted Glaswegian venues as well as seeking funding for activities through Creative Scotland (see pg. 59) creates strong connections to the art and music scene in Glasgow. Musically, Naga Mas finds ways of not only bringing Javanese and Scottish

music together but using one to contextualize the other. The UHJGE, while more statically situated in their performing venue(s), nevertheless creates unique contexts for learning and performing. Additionally, through sharing life stories, gamelan members from both community groups establish coherences that contextualize gamelan in their own lives.

In this way, the contexts they create for gamelan are not new, as Javanese gamelan musicians have been doing the same thing for generations.[1] What is new, however, is how and why it is happening for non-Indonesian gamelan groups and how ethnomusicological scholarship can respond to these phenomena. The gamelan grand narrative purports to be the truth of gamelan history, scholarship, and interest. We are discovering in recent scholarship (Clendinning 2013, Lueck 2012, McGraw 2016, Steele 2013, and Strohschein 2011 and 2016), however, that interest is shifting. And while previous scholars never denied the place of Western influence in the history of gamelan, we are only just now starting to consider the gamelan affinity community's place in it. If we expand the gamelan grand narrative to include the *petit recits* (small truths) and *petit comportements* (small behaviors) of non-Indonesian gamelan practitioners,[2] the history of globalized gamelan not only becomes more far-reaching, it also becomes more accurate.

Regarding the second premise of community, anthropologists, sociologists, and ethnomusicologists have debated the utility of term as a concept for decades. Major difficulties seem to stem from the notion that community is always already positive and that it implies stasis. This is partially true. As evidenced from certain members of the UHJGE and Naga Mas, community can imply feelings of warmth, sharing, and togetherness. When those feelings are (perceived as being) absent, people involved may question their group's status: "Are we *really* a community?" For other members, however, disagreements, misunderstandings, and compromise

are what defines their group *as* a community. This demonstrates the ability for people to encompass the idealizations and realizations of community within a single community. Balance between these two does not, however, result in complete stasis. Incongruities, confusions, and negotiations mean a constant reevaluation of a community's stance and values, i.e., its coherence. These can also lead to change in membership, direction, and leadership, ensuring that even communities with 20-40-year histories are not completely static.

The third premise concerns affinity and considers Slobin's categorization. Part of these communities' dynamism comes from their embodiment of affinity. These are groups of people brought together through love of and/or interest in music very different from their own. The reality of their scenarios is, however, that the "charm" comes and goes, very few of them are "like-minded," and the "magnet" can take many different forms and pull with greater or lesser magnitude.[3] While Slobin's definition of affinity can get us started, it is only a beginning. There are no easy answers when it comes to issues of representation, authority, agency, and affinity. Therefore, we should not be satisfied with facile categories that limit affinity to choice and desire. As Elizabeth Clendinning suggests (2013) and as my multidimensional framework has shown, choice and desire are present in affinity but they are not alone. Recognizing the nuances of affinity communities and the plethora of ways they are made manifest also brings us back to several questions posed in Chapter 5: where do we locate the origin, the authentic, and the authorial if everything that has come before us and indeed everything we are is an amalgam of our varied life experiences? And is the search itself worthwhile or will we merely be chasing our academic tails in ever shrinking circles while the world continues to form new connections, break old ties, and create new fusions of musics and cultures? This dissertation has suggested that it is not enough to know where ethnomusicologists locate authority and agency. Similarly, it

is not enough to know where culture-bearers locate these concepts. We must add to this an understanding of where people—in the US and UK[4]—locate authority and agency in their performance of non-Western music. Indeed, how they embody and where they locate affinity.

Affinity is not a mystical, indescribable connection starkly juxtaposed with biological kinship or ideological bonds. Like an intimate, long-term relationship, it is built carefully over many years and sustained by many points of contact. While people may point to initial experiences of spontaneous *communitas*, it is the slow building of relationships, experiences, ideas, and ideals that sustain an affinity community. This is cumulative *communitas*, or togetherness experienced through small, mundane acts (e.g., Naga Mas members catching up at the pub or going for coffee after rehearsal, helping set up or tear down instruments, sitting and chatting during a break, and UHJGE members cooking or preparing food together, getting dressed, watching children, etc.) in addition to playing music together. This kind of affinity happens as people get to know each other over the course of months, years, and decades that they play gamelan together—as they become, as Pattie Dunn suggests, a *kampung*. It is not the swift and powerful climax of spontaneous *communitas* but rather a long, slow, sustained burn that can withstand and incorporate friction, conflict, and change.

As mentioned several times throughout this work, Susilo's pedagogical focus included teaching his students to think, listen, and anticipate like a Javanese musician. He was not trying to turn them into Javanese musicians, but rather teaching them a way of being akin to the Javanese way of experiencing music. Susilo's students developed affinity for both each other and the music in the sense of shared connections, ideologies, and even common (musical) ancestors.

Without this close, invested authority, Naga Mas members similarly attempt to understand and perform Javanese gamelan music from a Javanese perspective. They also,

however, negotiate their own authority when it comes to creating new musical works. Thus they too, in different ways, developed affinity for each other, the music, and ways of creation that rely on connection, shared ideologies, and common experiences.

As evidenced in Naga Mas and the UHJGE members' life stories, different forms of affinity contribute to the coherence that defines each community. These groups are not affinity communities merely because they like gamelan music; they are affinity communities because they have, over time, constructed and construed themselves to be through varied and variable communal learning, teaching, performing, growing, agreement, and conflict. They have, through affinity, created shared and evolving identities and ideologies based on internally created coherence principles. And they have struggled with their relationship(s) to the home culture. My definition of affinity community,[5] while wide in scope, offers the best opportunity to approach how people in Western countries view and create their relationship(s) to/with Javanese gamelan. My work with Naga Mas and the UHJGE suggests that this definition is both viable and reflective of the realities of these two gamelan groups.

To conclude this section, I wish to first return to the start of this dissertation and to George Marcus' "Modes of Construction" (1995). Marcus presented these modes as points for an ethnographer to follow through her ethnography and thereby traverse multi-sited space (Chapter 1 pg. 12). By following the people (Naga Mas and UHJGE members), the thing (gamelan itself), the metaphor (gamelan is community; affinity is choice and desire), the plot/story/allegory (life stories), the life/biography (history), and the conflict (as part of community), we may arrive at a holistic vision of the kinds of things Naga Mas and the UHJGE do to make meaning of and with their gamelans. Likewise, we discover what their life stories can contribute to the history, music, and culture of gamelan in the world.

Gamelan(ing)

This expanded understanding of affinity also suggests an expanded notion of the idea of gamelan itself. In print materials and in conversations, gamelan practitioners have been quick to point out that the noun "gamelan" refers solely to the music and the instruments. Despite Susilo's parallel between a gamelan and a Western orchestra, gamelan as a noun seems to exclude the people who perform it. This stance is called into question by J. Simon van der Walt who, in formal discussions, expressed the belief that gamelan, like jazz, is something that you "bring with you," something that you may draw on no matter the musical context. He concludes:

> Whether then you're gamelaning, I think I kind of am, when I'm doing that, although no one else would know it. I sort of am playing gamelan music in another context entirely. Yeah, I think that's true. (p.c. J. Simon van der Walt 10/15/15)

Van der Walt's comments raise some fascinating and potentionally controversial questions regarding the nature of performing gamelan. Sapto Raharjo believed that "gamelan no longer belonged only to the Javanese, the Sundanese, or the Balinese—to Indonesia; it belonged to the world" (in Lysloff 2016, 497). This is, of course, one individual's perception of gamelan and not necessarily shared by all Indonesian gamelan musicians. Raharjo's and van der Walt's statements, however, let us consider whether gamelaning may encompass more than playing gamelan music. We may also consider gamelaning in relation to affinity. It is in fact the behaviors, attitudes, interpretations, and actions of gamelan members that express affinity. As we have seen, these behaviors etc., also affect the music each gamelan affinity community learns, performs, creates/devises, and perpetuates.

Gamelaning can also address Clendinning's concern that using affinity "to describe these primarily foreign gamelan cultures [implies] that all gamelan groups in America are affinitive and all gamelan groups in Indonesia are non-affinitive" (2013, 50). My definition of affinity

community implies that the connections built over time through various communal activities result in shared identities based on differing interpretations of those activities. This definition does not necessitate that affinity community participants be or not be members of the music's home culture. To paraphrase John-Carlos Perea (2014), who describes the general similarities among North American powwows but then acknowledges that everyone "powwows differently," I suggest here a similar attribute: everyone gamelans differently.

In *Catatan-Catatan Pengetahuan Karawitan* (in Becker ed. 1984), Martopangrawit broadly defines *karawitan* as "the art of producing sound using the *sléndro* and *pélog* tuning systems. Any vocal or instrumental (i.e., gamelan) music that uses *sléndro* or *pélog* can be called 'karawitan'" (1984, 9). He then moves step by step through the specific characteristics (e.g., *irama* and *lagu*) and structures (e.g., *buka*, *merong*, *ngelik*, *umpak*, *inggah*, *suwukan* and various transitional forms) that make up *karawitan*. These musical characteristics are strongly identified with gamelan music by all the musicians I spoke to. They are likewise supported by subsequent research on teaching gamelan to Westerners, perhaps most explicitly in Richard Pickvance's *A Gamelan Manual* (2005).

Martopangrawit, and others, differentiate between *karawitan* and gamelan, the former being more musically comprehensive than the latter. Is it possible that, given the global span of gamelan, the differences between *karawitan* and gamelan are now more than just musical? The music itself is purposefully intended to be adaptable, and examples of this adaptability are found in *wayang kulit*—which can accommodate multiple *dhalang* and Western drum kits—and *uyon-uyon* concerts that integrate rap and hip hop. In his quest to globalize gamelan, however, Raharjo states that "*gamelan is a spirit*, not an object, instruments are only its medium" (in Lysloff 2016, 496; emphasis in original). This would seem to pose a problem for classifying and even

identifying gamelan if it is not dependent on *pelog* and *slendro* tuning systems, Javanese performance practice, or even the gamelan instruments themselves.

Might we look for the gamelan somewhere other than in the music then? Should we take Raharjo's comments to mean that gamelan is more a state of mind or states of action? If this is so, then gamelaning may explain the apparent contradictions in defining as affinity two communities as different as Naga Mas and the UHJGE. To gamelan can encompass all activities surrounding the instruments and the music, activities which include but are not limited to those practiced in Indonesia. I do not mean by this to weaken the cultural authority to the practice of gamelan in Java. Instead, I am seeking ways of understanding the global life gamelan has taken on.

Thus different affinity communities gamelan in different ways. The UHJGE gamelans by performing mostly traditional, Central Javanese repertoire, by utilizing imitation in performance, and by drawing on knowledge of different musical treatments and styles (van der Walt's "pieces of idiom"). They also gamelan by wearing formal Javanese clothing during their concerts, by holding a *selamatan* before every performance, and by showing respect for their instruments in the form of offerings, incense, and physical behavior. The UHJGE has gamelaned in establishing the HGS and continues to gamelan in their relationship with both the UHM music department and Susilo.

Naga Mas gamelans by performing traditional Javanese and Balinese repertoire, by using imitation in musical creation, and by likewise applying their own knowledge of Javanese/Scottish/jazz etc. idioms to newly composed/arranged/devised works by its members. They further gamelan by wearing more formal Western clothing during concerts, relaxing at a pub after performances, and by identifying their instruments as valuable and versatile Scottish

tools. They gamelan when applying for grants, through committee and annual meetings, through their relationship with Glasgow City Council, and in their work with local schools, families, and other organizations. Both groups gamelan by creating coherence between their communal activities and personally held beliefs, morals, or philosophies even as they locate community in different places.

As one specific example of gamelaning, we might look to a particular normative behavior established by many community gamelan ensembles: removing one's shoes before playing the instruments. This is behavior closely associated with Javanese (and Balinese) gamelan culture. Each community teaches, upholds, and interprets it differently, however. For each community, removing their shoes is a physical behavior that represents a connection to and respect for Javanese culture and tradition. For Naga Mas, this connection is important but equally important is their need to make new members feel welcome and comfortable (see Chapter 4). For the UHJGE, however, this behavior is closely tied to very strong feelings regarding their role(s) as Susilo's students, as representatives of Javanese culture, and as respectful and moral beings. The importance of this behavior is also seen in the friction caused when members fail to uphold it.[6] This friction has not been severe enough to warrant anything more than verbal chastisement, but it is seen as important enough to merit repeated comment by certain members in private conversations. The connections and coherence embodied by members when performing this behavior, when gamelaning, informs a great deal of their identity.

Christopher Small writes that "It is only by understanding what people do as they take part in a musical act that we can hope to understand its nature and the function it fulfills in human life" (1998, 8). He argues that music is performative, an activity that does something. It may be, as we have seen in both Naga Mas and the UHJGE, that music does something different

for each individual even as they share a collective experience (also see Becker 2001). I would also argue that gamelaning does not only take place in the moment of *musical* performance; it is found in the behavior and attitudes of the performers as well. Considering gamelan in this way allows us the freedom to question what gamelan means; whether it is a reference to only the instruments and the music or, as seems more probable, through affinity has come to encompass the people who play it, the many (changing and sometimes conflicting) attitudes they have regarding it, and the behavior, connections, and creativity it inspires.

Areas for Future Research

For the purposes of this dissertation, I have limited my examples to those drawn from the experiences of Naga Mas and UHJGE members including my personal interactions with them. This worked well because the two groups are so different. Their distinctive values and proclivities made it relatively easy to project the extreme boundaries for each dimension of affinity (see Chapter 7). For future projects, I would like to expand my sample size to ascertain whether the different directions taken by Naga Mas and the UHJGE represent norms or exceptions. Based on my fieldwork, it appears as though Naga Mas fits within a very general UK gamelan paradigm while the UHJGE likewise fits within (one of several) very general US gamelan paradigms.[7] Work with other gamelan affinity communities will confirm or refute this supposition. Eventually including communities from other countries in Europe, East Asia, Southeast Asia, etc.[8] will similarly uncover any general or systematic ways the host culture has adapted and adopted gamelan. Additionally, work with more communities will help expand a dual-sited study into a multi-sited one and refine my multidimensional framework. This leads us ever closer to understanding the nature and impact of global gamelan.

I further note that my definition of affinity community (pg. 115) and the multidimensional framework presented in previous chapters are not exclusive or specific to gamelan. Any dimension may address the individual realities of an affinity community using similar criteria. For example, in an affinity community based around dancing (e.g., Scottish *ceilidh* dancing, Tahitian dance, etc.), "repertoire" may apply to specific dances, styles of dance, types of steps, or pieces/genres of music that accompany the dances. One may explore in more depth the negotiation of power and agency in Asian- and non-Asian-led taiko ensembles (see also Wong 2004) to question whether invested authority is applicable or appropriate for those scenarios. Does invested authority, as Trimillos (in Solís 2004) and Sutton (p.c.) suggest, draw on more than just *knowledge* imparted by a culture-bearer.[9]

Related studies include those directed at groups that do not fall within the purview of my definition of affinity community. I would like to consider those more ephemeral groups, like those participants in Kuffner's Gamelatron installations, as well as whether affinity communities must begin face-to-face or whether it may first exist entirely in the virtual world. I am also interested to explore how and if my framework transfers to other artistic communities that do not include music and/or that do not have an "origin" culture.

Bruno Nettl has opined that ethnomusicology will/should always contain a comparative element (Nettl 2005). This is, however, contingent upon the recognition that every kind of music has worth. Comparison, in this sense, should not result in judgmental statements that claim one side is more correct, more authentic, more valuable, etc. than the other. Because of the openness and adaptability of the framework, future research can include comparison of affinity communities all over the world. These sorts of comparisons are useful in seeing how musics (or other art forms) have traveled, how people are using them, what needs they are fulfilling in

different countries and cultures, how the affinity communities relate to or connect with the home culture, how musicians and artists in the home culture feel about the movement of the music,[10] as well as what new pieces, connections, and potentials are being created. This exploration also leads us to the varied issues and controversies that arise when cultures/musics travel and meet in affinity communities.

It is also possible to use this framework to understand the relationships (if any) between affinity communities which practice/perform/create music from an outside culture and those which participate in musical or artistic expressions considered to be inside the culture. For example, do retirees who join a small-town community jazz band in Ohio express the same kinds of motivations about and draw the same kinds of connections to their musical activities as those drawn by retirees who join a university-affiliated Javanese gamelan ensemble in Honolulu? If so, what similarities exist between a community jazz band and a community gamelan ensemble? If not, what particular differences are people attracted to and how do they reconcile those differences within their personal and collective worldviews?

In this way, the framework is also useful for understanding more about the ensembles described in *Performing Ethnomusicology*. Several authors described their class' relationship(s) with local ethnic communities as well as evidencing desire to include and/or create communities. Greater understanding of the potential of affinity may lead to more nuanced and clearer pictures of what these ensembles provide for the students who participate in them after they are no longer students. It may also do more to connect community work to the university. Affinity communities like the UHJGE are one of the natural outcomes of the ensembles described in *Performing Ethnomusicology*. As such, these ensembles contribute to the longevity and sustainability of gamelan music and culture.

The Final Gong: The Many Accents of Gamelan

While completing PhD coursework at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, I participated several times in the ethnomusicology area’s dry run practice sessions for conference papers. In these mock panel sessions, students and faculty present drafts of papers that have been accepted to regional, national, or international conferences. Audience members—also made up of students and faculty—then give feedback and advice. In one such session, after I presented a paper on an intercultural performance staged by Naga Mas, one faculty member criticized my pronunciation of the word gamelan, particularly the first syllable. Being from the Midwestern United States, I use a near-open, slightly nasal short “a” sound (æ). Thus my first syllable of the word gamelan rhymes with “pad.” The faculty member opined that the word was actually pronounced with a more open “a” vowel sound as in the word “father.”

This was a simple criticism, but the implications struck me very deeply. While it does seem as though most people in Hawai‘i pronounce gamelan this way, there are subtle variations everywhere. Not all members of the UHJGE use this pronunciation, for example. Naga Mas members tend to favor the æ sound as well, softening it just a bit. Susilo and Ki Widiyanto clip the first syllable, making it sound like a mixture between the open “a” and open-mid back “uh” sound (ʌ). This got me thinking: what was the purpose of repressing my Midwestern accent in favor of some perceived correct pronunciation? Is the same imperative driving the notion of an original authenticity and the fear of colonial terrorism? This speaks to the acknowledged power differential discussed here and in other works (Becker 1980; Snow 1986; Sorrell 1992; Miller 2005). Would changing how I say a word do anything to address these complex and painful issues? Perhaps it would; the path to equality is traversed by large and small steps. In our role as “hopeful antiorientalists” (Solís 2004, 11), ethnomusicologists and affinity communities alike

must “[do] the best one can, and [retain] faith that the endeavor is worthwhile despite the problems it can never entirely escape” (Miller 2005, 84). We fight to retain the dignity and imperative of home cultures even as we spread their cultural traditions far and wide.

People gamelan today in many different accents. Jody Diamond has put forth the notion of an American Gamelan Music, or “music that came out of who we are as musicians as we interact with the musical phenomenon that is *gamelan*” (in Deschênes 2005). Neil Sorrell contends that “The diversity in the burgeoning compositional work . . . points to . . . the emergence of national and even regional accents and the identification of a gamelan with its location rather than its relationship to the ‘mother culture’” (2007, 46). Naga Mas’ incorporation of Scottish folk songs and bagpipe tunes, as well as their collaboration on new works for gamelan and bagpipes, also suggests the development of Scottish Gamelan Music.

Despite these potentially international regional differences, the UHJGE’s approach suggests that not all gamelan affinity communities are willing to completely disconnect from Java. Indeed, this is not a black and white issue, as Naga Mas’ repertoire list also demonstrates (see pg. 163). Both of these communities contribute to a growing cadre of global gamelan music. More than this, though, they are part of growing global gamelan cultures that “speak” in different accents and are built, realized, and performed through different dimensions of affinity.

Appendix 1

Appendix 1 contains full transcriptions for the *Lokananta Suite* and "Gamelunk." They are descriptive transcriptions of specific performances. The *Lokananta Suite* transcription was taken from a video recording I made on April 28, 2012 during the *Wayang Lokananta* performance at the University of York. The "Gamelunk" transcription was taken from a video recording of a performance Naga Mas gave in Glasgow July 29, 2012. I did not take this video; it was posted to YouTube by another musician. I chose this recording because it was the first one I found of "Gamelunk" and to take advantage of the sound and visual clarity.

As these are descriptive transcriptions, they are in no way meant to be taken as the "correct" way to play any of these pieces. One can see from comparison between my transcriptions, Margaret Smith's cipher notation of "Ca' the Yowes," and J. Simon van der Walt's cipher score of "Gamelunk," there are melodic and rhythmic discrepancies. These are variations decided by the musicians as well as mistakes that occur naturally in the course of performance. In these, and in a majority of Naga Mas' newly composed works, there is room for a great deal of adjustment and improvisation. *Kendhang* parts are not included in either Smith's or van der Walt's notations. Van der Walt likewise does not notate the solo trumpet/flugelhorn part of "Gamelunk."

I have included tempo and dynamic markings where applicable to indicate what the musicians do in each recording. In general, each piece in the *Lokananta Suite* tends to speed up over the course of the piece. This is how, for example, "Mairi's Wedding" can start with the quarter note equaling 70, and slow down at the end to a tempo of quarter note equals 73.

As stated above, the *Lokananta Suite* transcription is taken from a video recording. The only other recording of this event that I am aware of was done by the University of York with the

intention of publishing a DVD of the full *wayang kulit* performance. To the best of my knowledge, this never happened, although the full performance was uploaded to YouTube and shared privately among people who were in attendance. While the York *video* quality is superior to mine, the *audio* quality is not, and in fact, in several large sections of Naga Mas' performance, some instruments are inaudible. Because of this, I only have my recording from which to transcribe this piece.

This is not to say that my recording is flawless, however. In the course of transcribing the *Lokananta Suite*, it became clear that certain instruments—like the *kempul*, *kenong*, *kendhang* and *peking*—were, in certain places, inaudible. My fixed point of view, which allowed me to focus on some of the musicians' hands, proved exceedingly useful for transcribing the *peking* part of "Ca' the Yowes," for example, because the musician is playing so softly, one can better see him than hear him. This was not helpful, however, for the *kendhang* parts. Because of where I am sitting for this performance, the *kendhang*, *kempul* and most of the *kenong* are cut out of the video. For these parts, rather than try to guess or predict what was being played and risk committing the wrong notes to paper, I have only notated what I can hear. For the *kendhang* in particular, this has meant mostly *kendhang ageng* beats and signals. Where applicable, I have kept staves in the score indicating that the *kempul* or *kenong* were played, they are just inaudible in this recording. In keeping with the eclectic nature of Naga Mas' performances, several musicians I spoke to regarding these instruments were not sure what they played either.

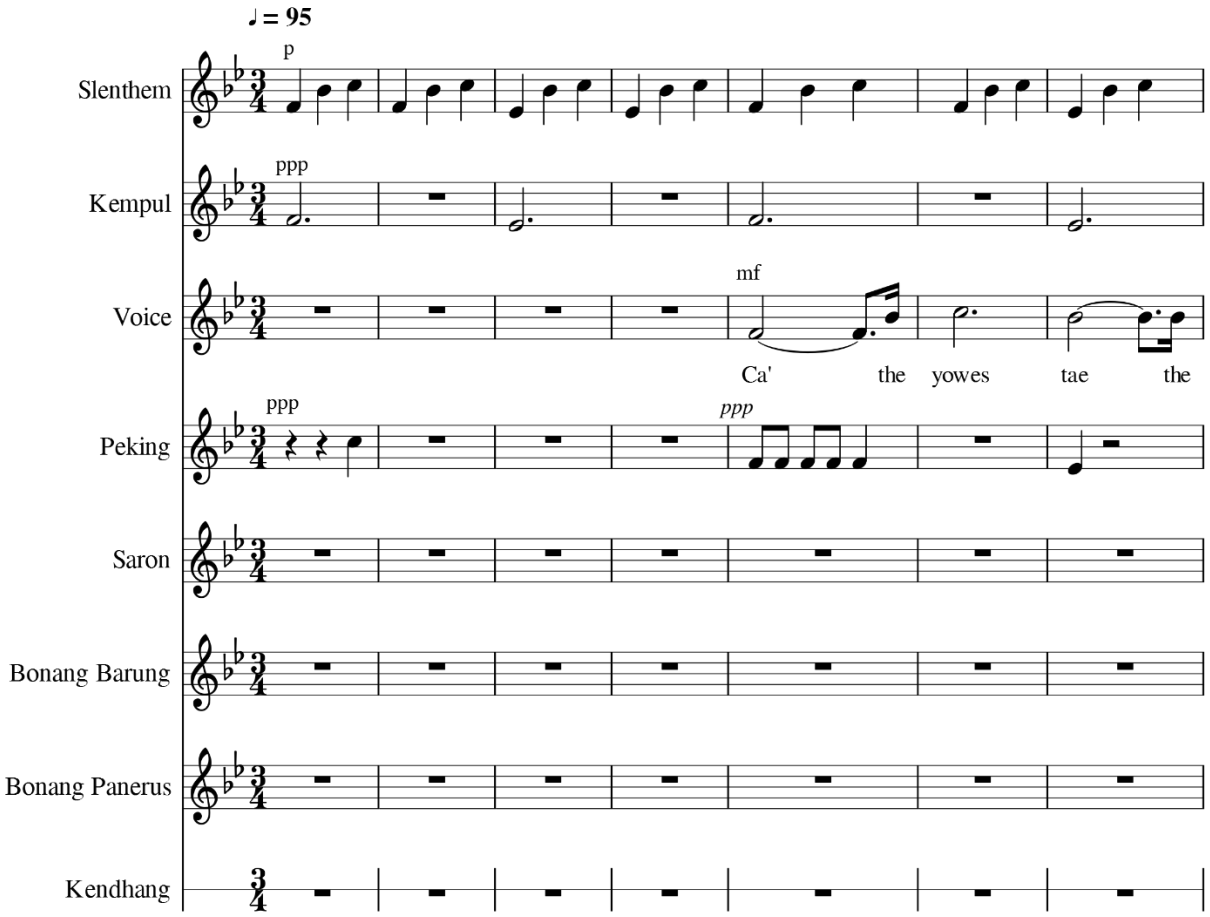
There are several notes enclosed in parentheses in the *kempul* part of "Mairi's Wedding." These are notes that I hear in the *kempul's* octave but cannot confirm whether they are being played by the *kempul* or if they are a result of the collective resonance in the performance space.

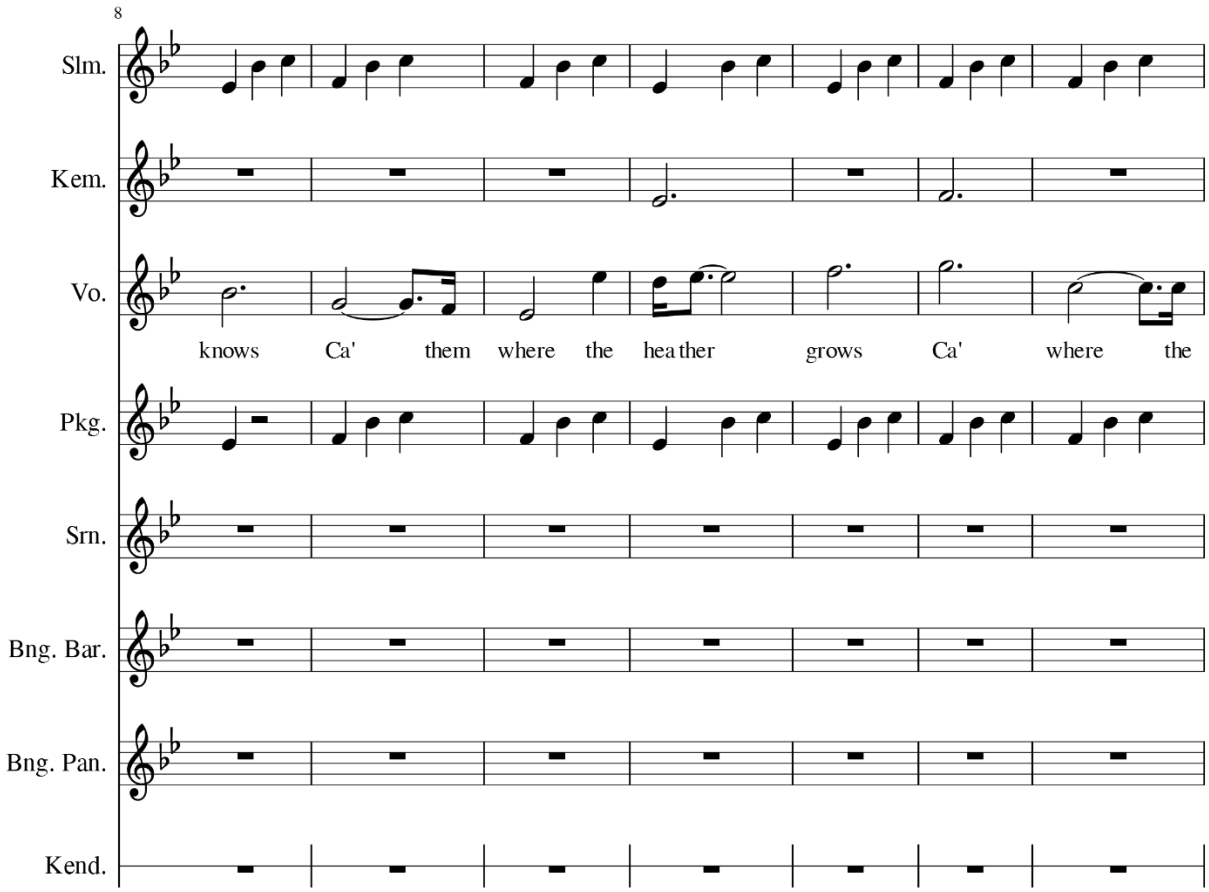
Much of the above holds true for "Gamelunk" as well. This particular recording—though live on the streets of Glasgow—is much clearer than that of the *Lokananta Suite*, but there remain some sections that are inaudible. I found this to be particularly true in the drum part. For some reason, because of where the mic was placed, the rhythmic patterns played by the drummer's left hand, particularly around beat three of every measure, often failed to pick up. Boosting the sound and slowing down the tempo helped a bit. In aiming for a descriptive transcription, I have again only included what I could hear.

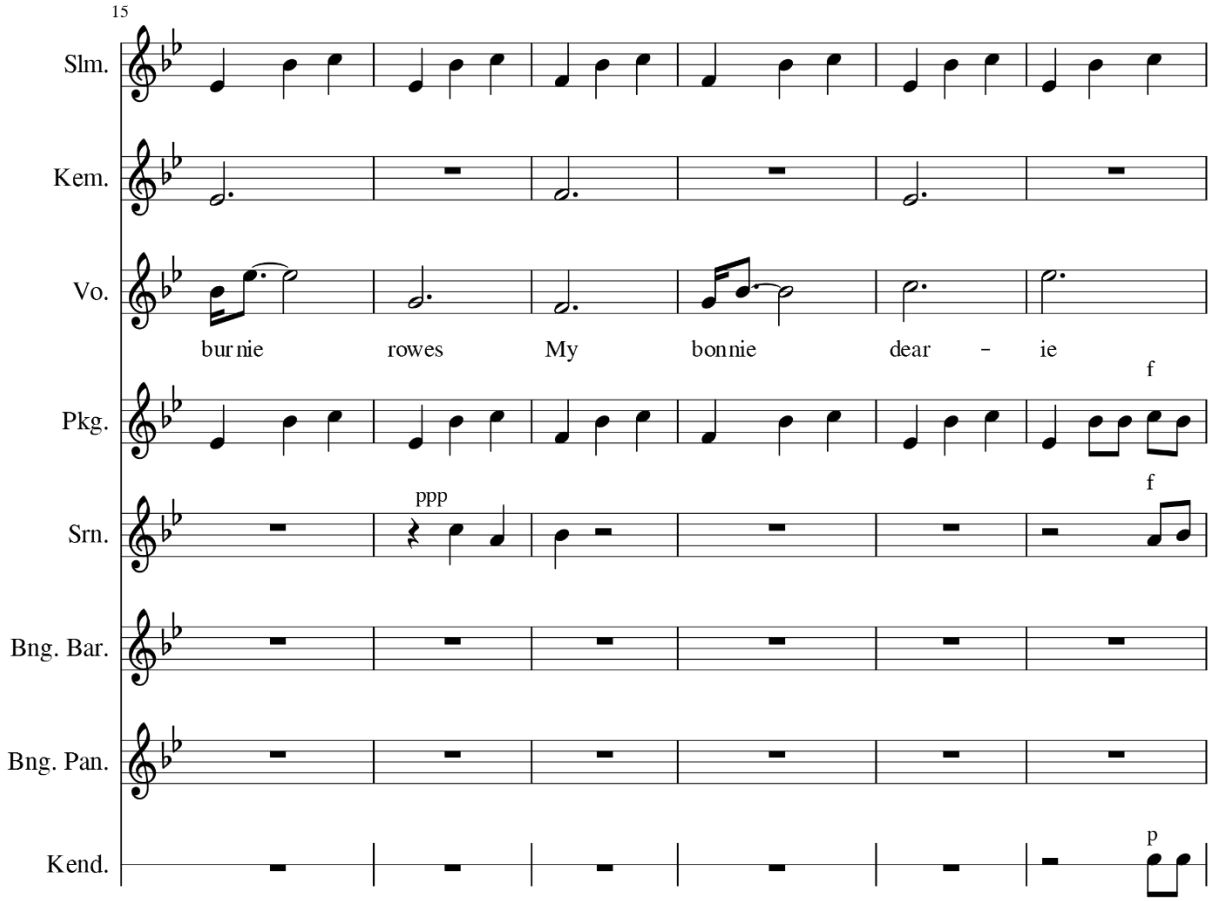
For all four pieces, the *kendhang* player tended to use three main strokes. The *kendhang agung*, or large drum, stroke is indicated by a filled-in note below the staff line. The other two strikes are on the *kendhang ketipung*, or small drum. These consist of a closed-hand stroke, indicated by a filled-in note above the staff line, and an open-hand stroke, indicated by a cross-headed note (x) also above the staff line. For "Gamelunk," the *kendhang agung* is positioned horizontally (as usual), but the *kendhang ketipung* is turned vertically (like a conga drum, for example). The drummer only strikes one drum head instead of two. I do not believe this same drummer changed the orientation of the smaller drum for the *Lokananta Suite*.

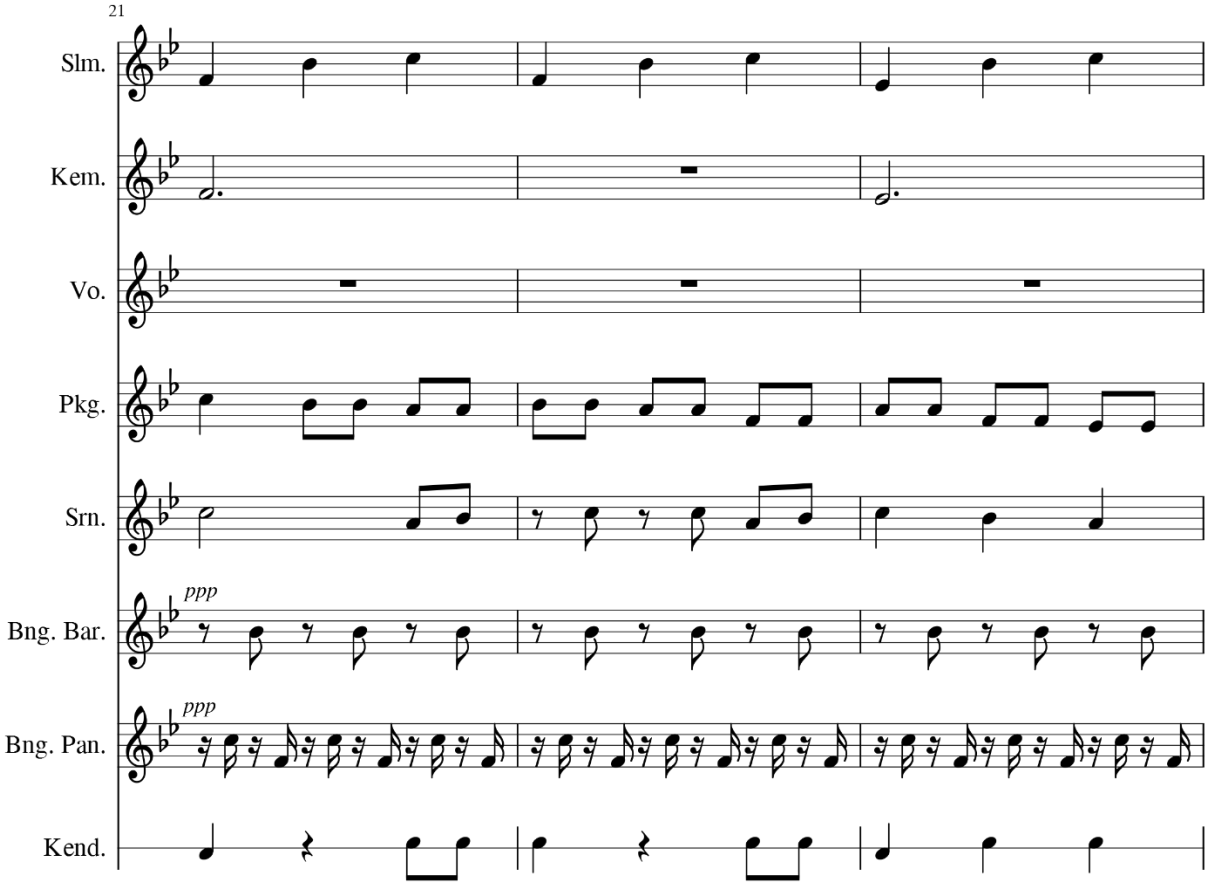
Additionally, in "Ca' the Yowes" and "Wong Donya," the *bonang barung* and *bonang panerus* play in the same octave (top row of kettle gongs for the *bonang barung* and bottom row of kettle gongs for the *panerus*). This also holds true for most of "Mairi's Wedding." In the vocal/*alok* section of that piece, however, the *bonang barung* plays on the bottom row and the *bonang panerus* plays on the top row. This is indicated in the score by moving the *bonang panerus*' melodic line up an octave.

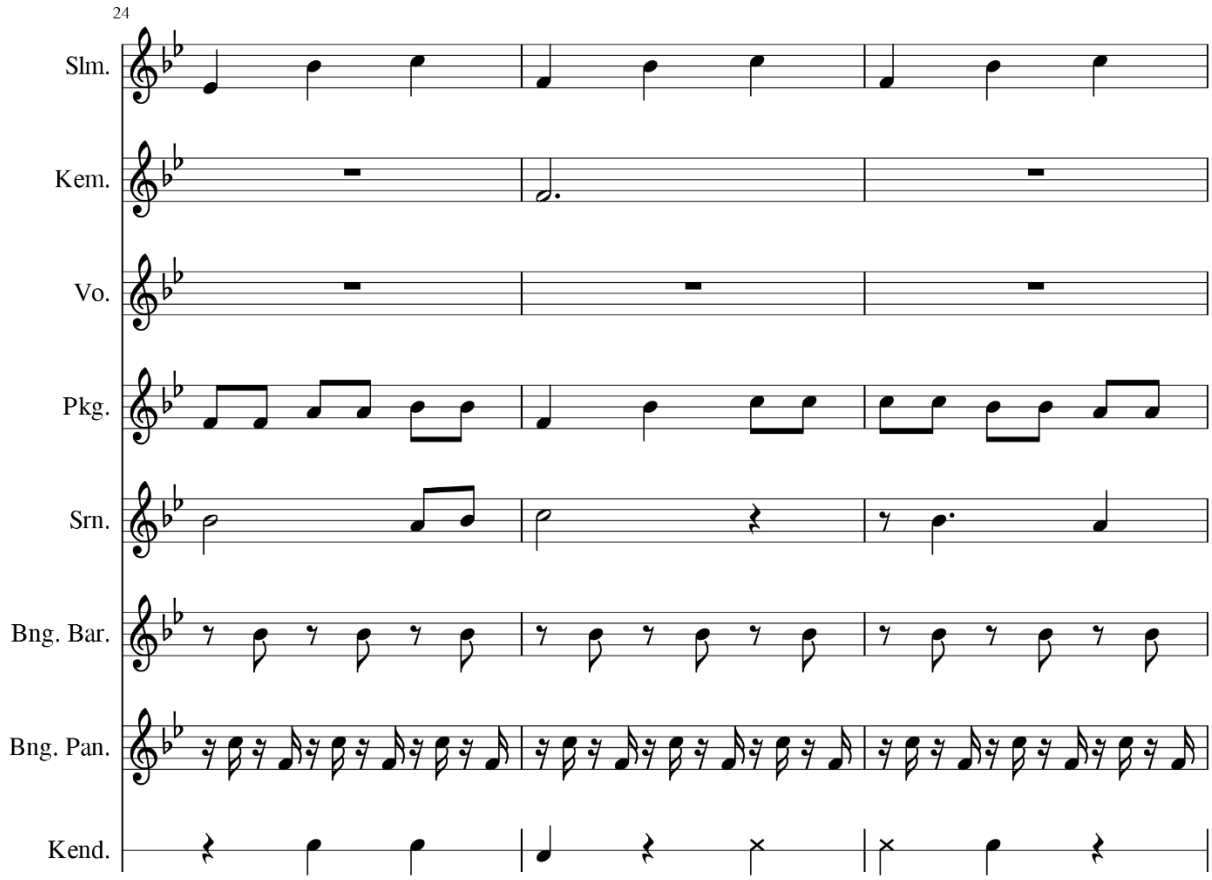
The Lokananta Suite - Ca' the Yowes

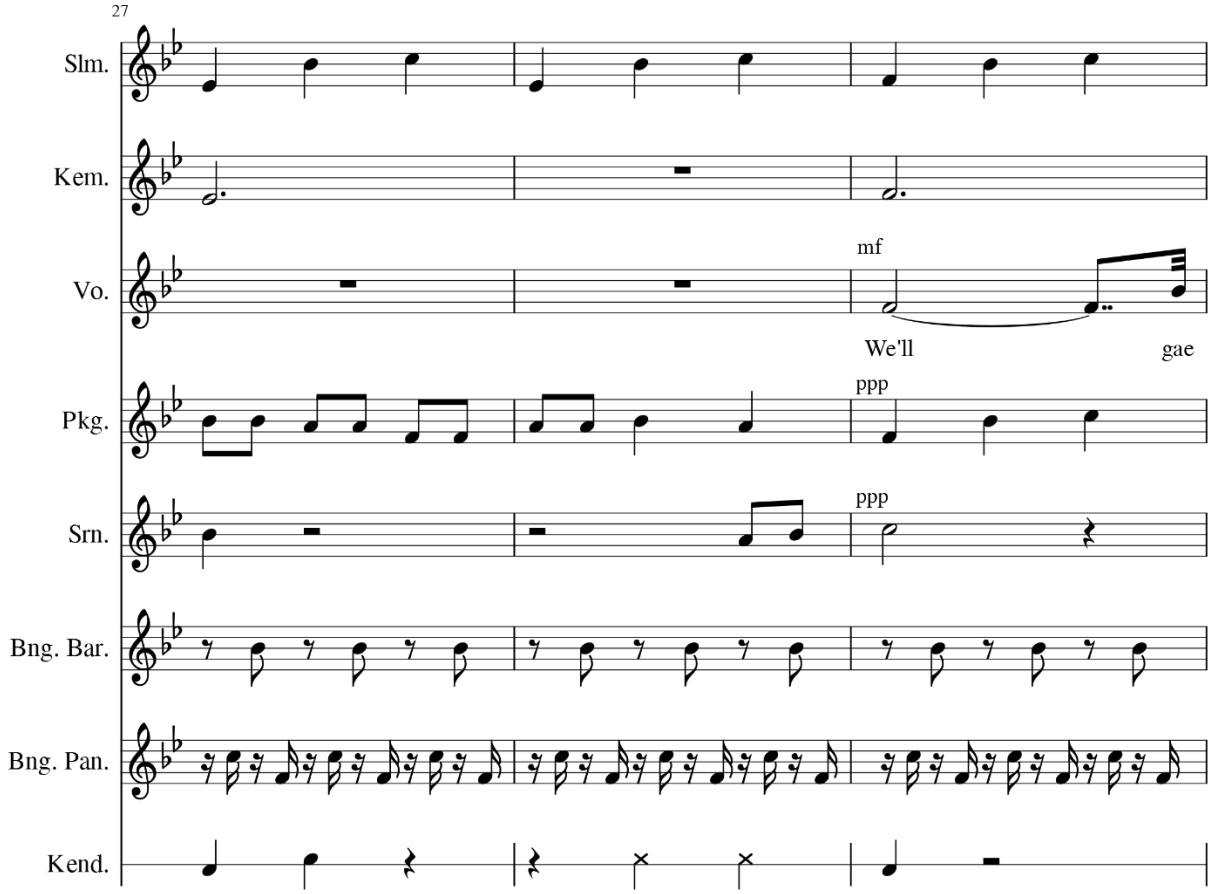



8
Slm.
Kem.
Vo.
knows Ca' them where the hea ther grows Ca' where the
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.


15
Slm.
Kem.
Vo.
burnie rowes My bonnie dear – ie
Pkg.
f
Srn.
ppp
f
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.
p


21
Slm.
Kem.
Vo.
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
ppp
Bng. Pan.
ppp
Kend.


24
Slm.
Kem.
Vo.
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.


27
Slm.
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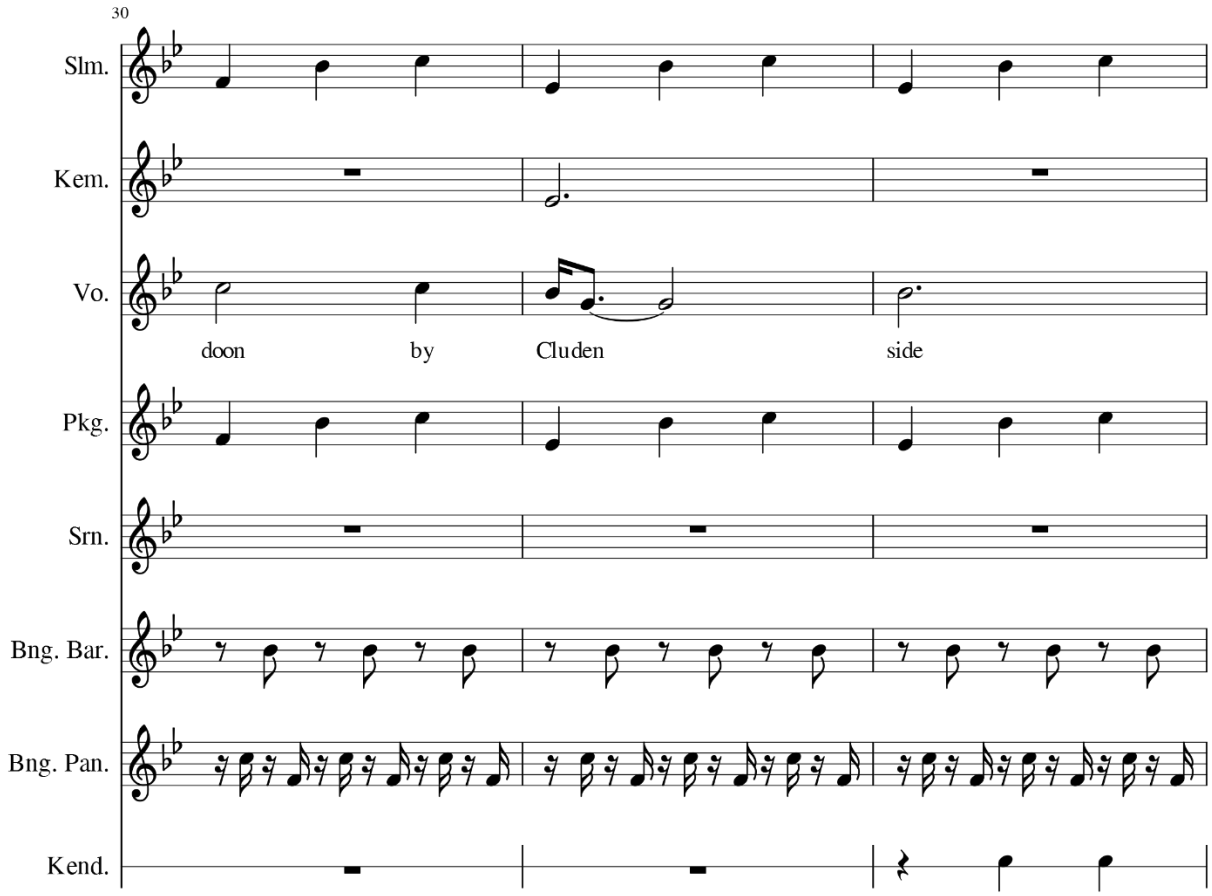
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.


30
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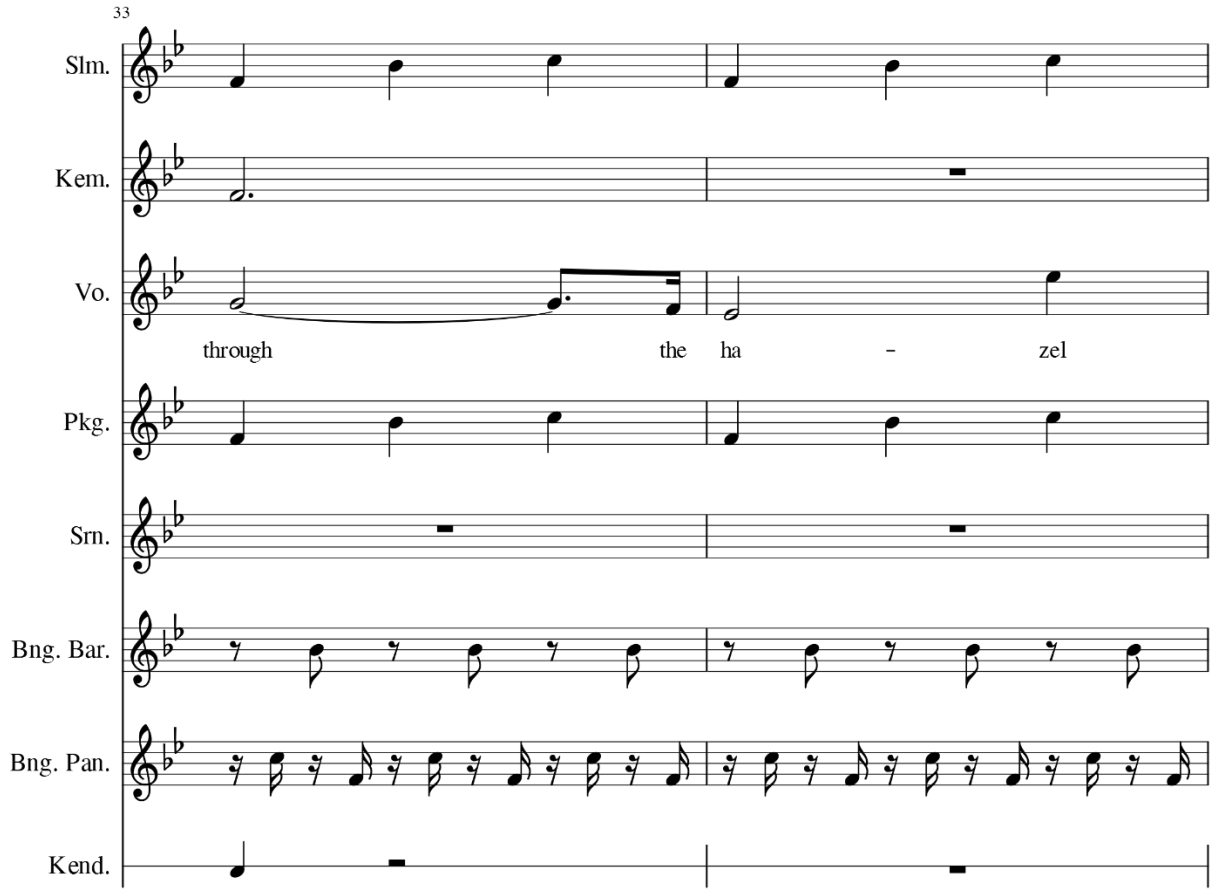
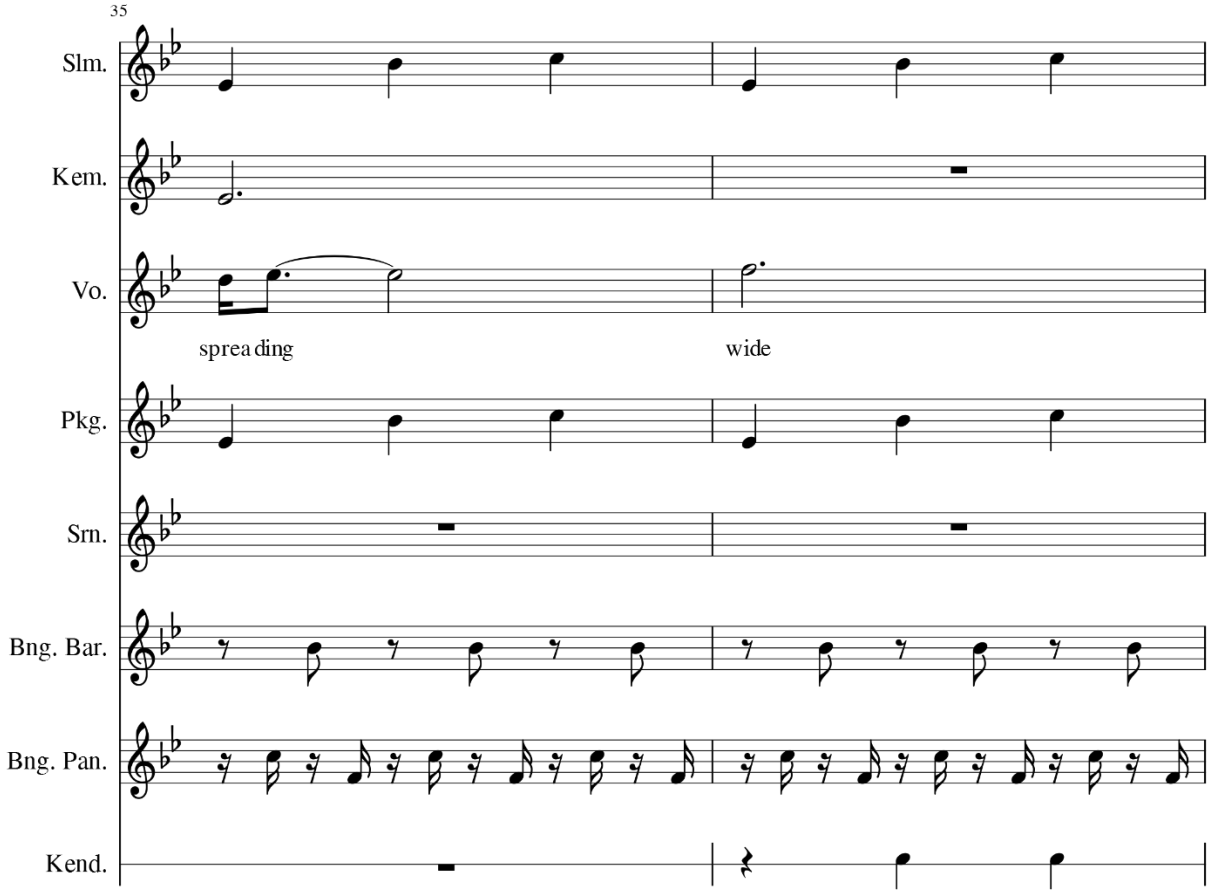
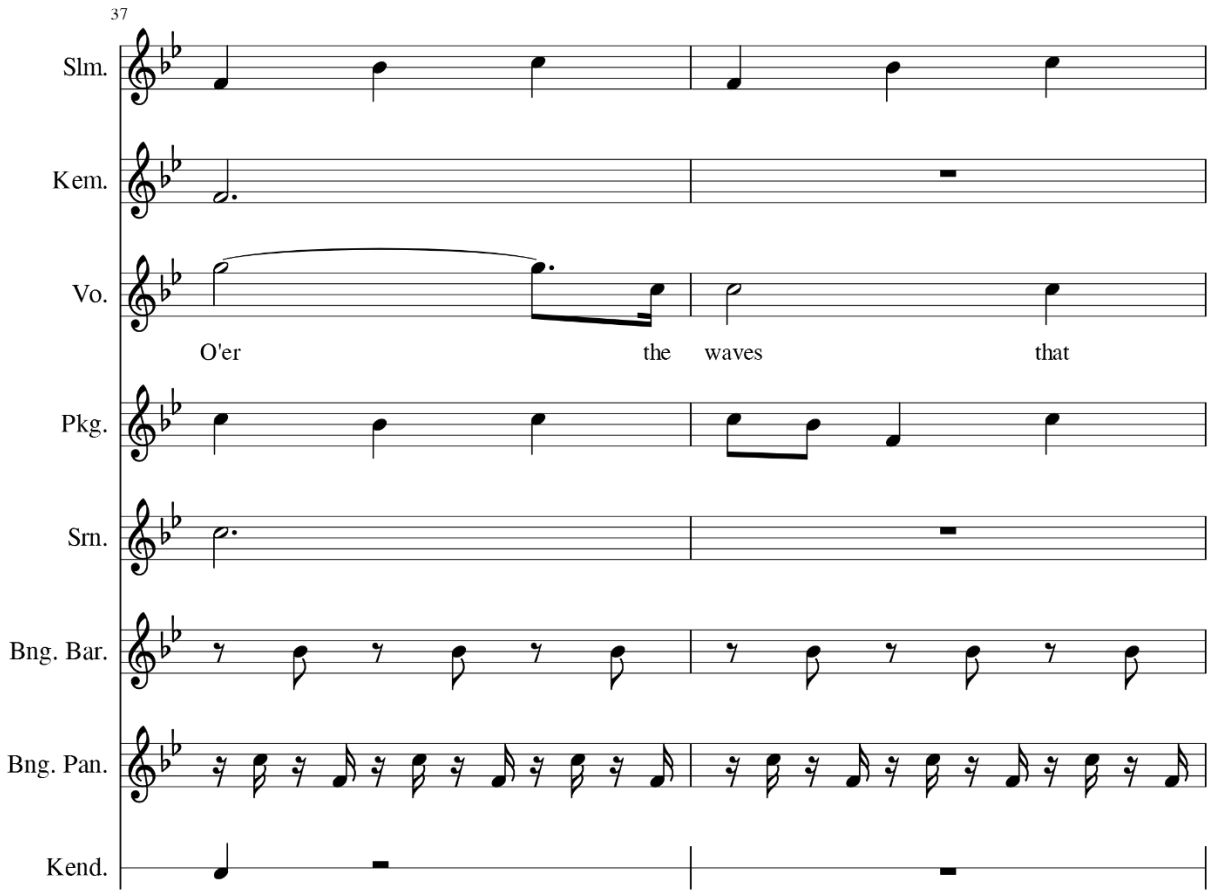
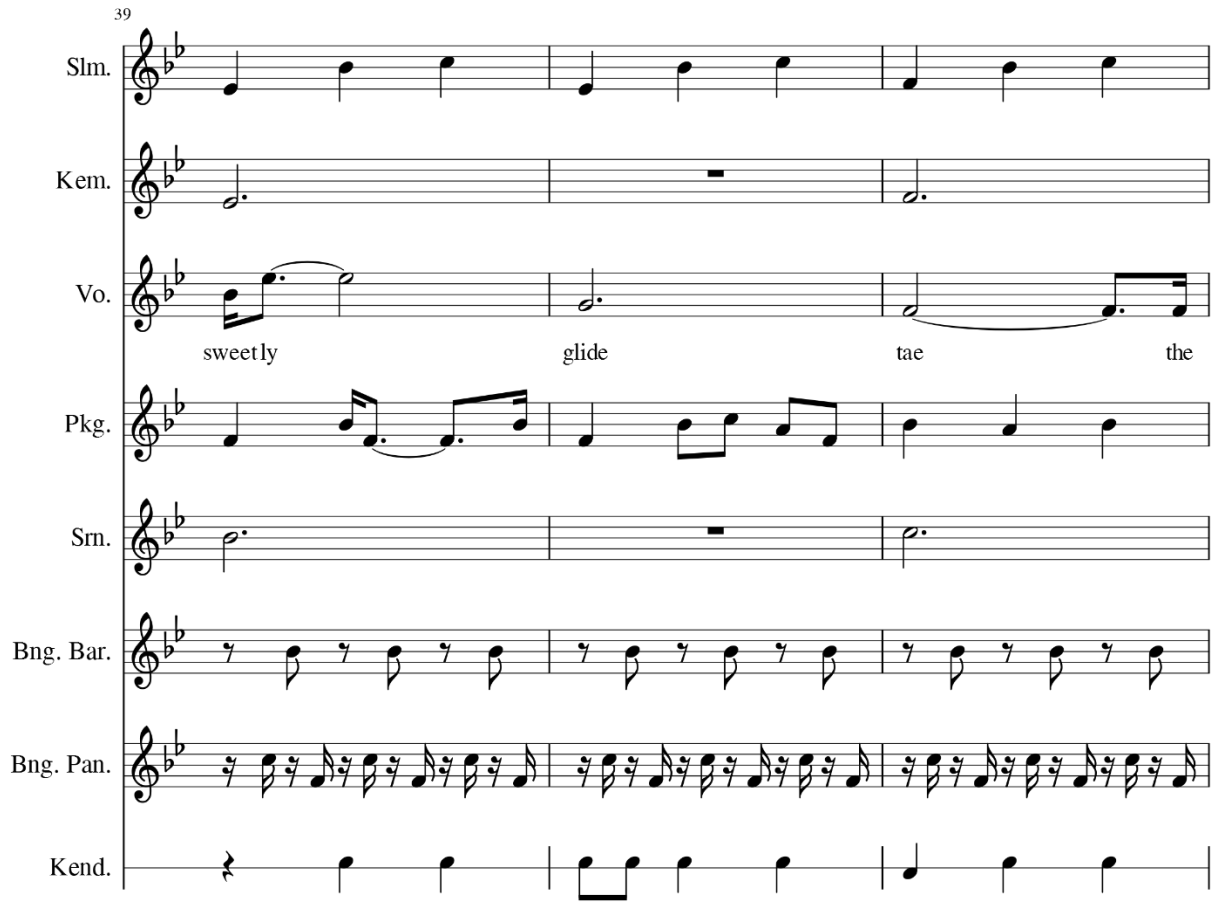
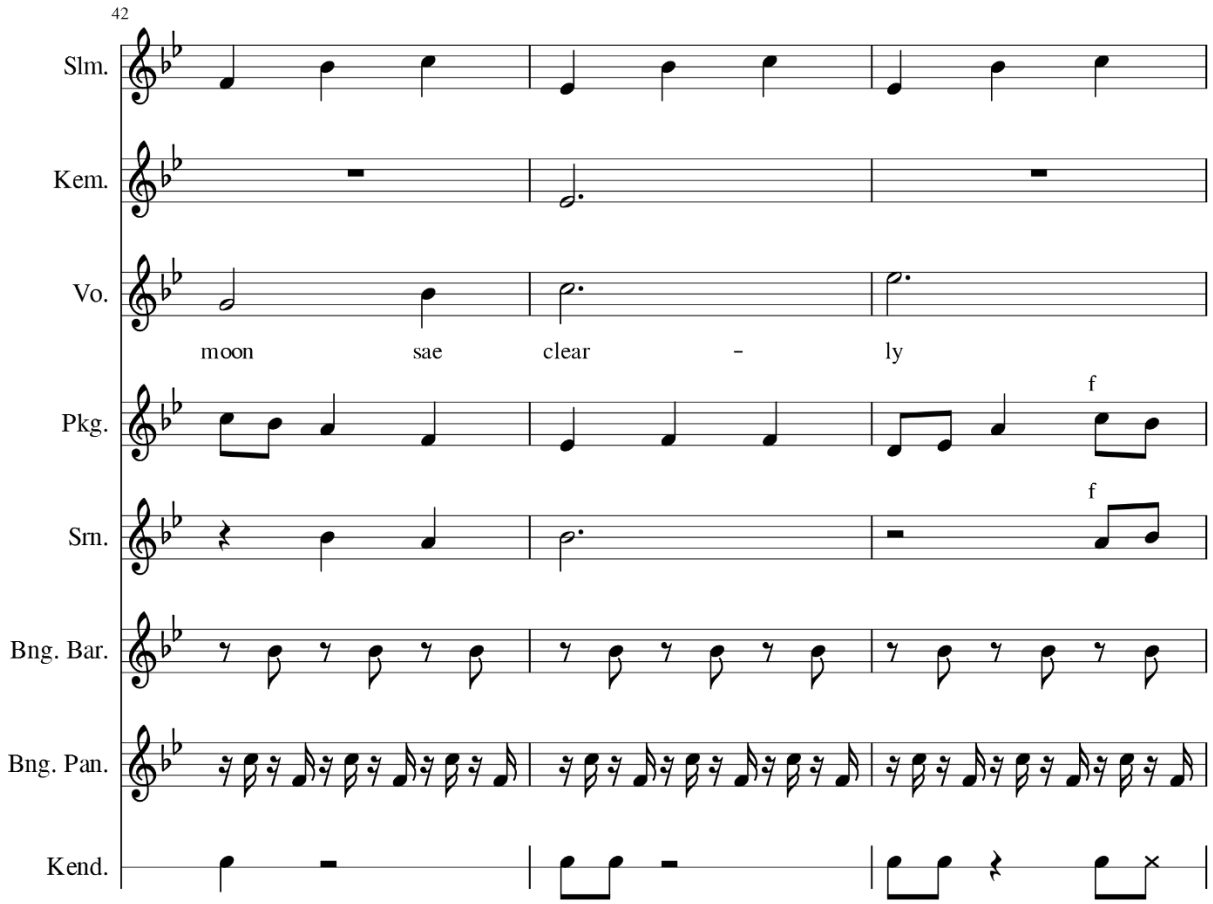
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

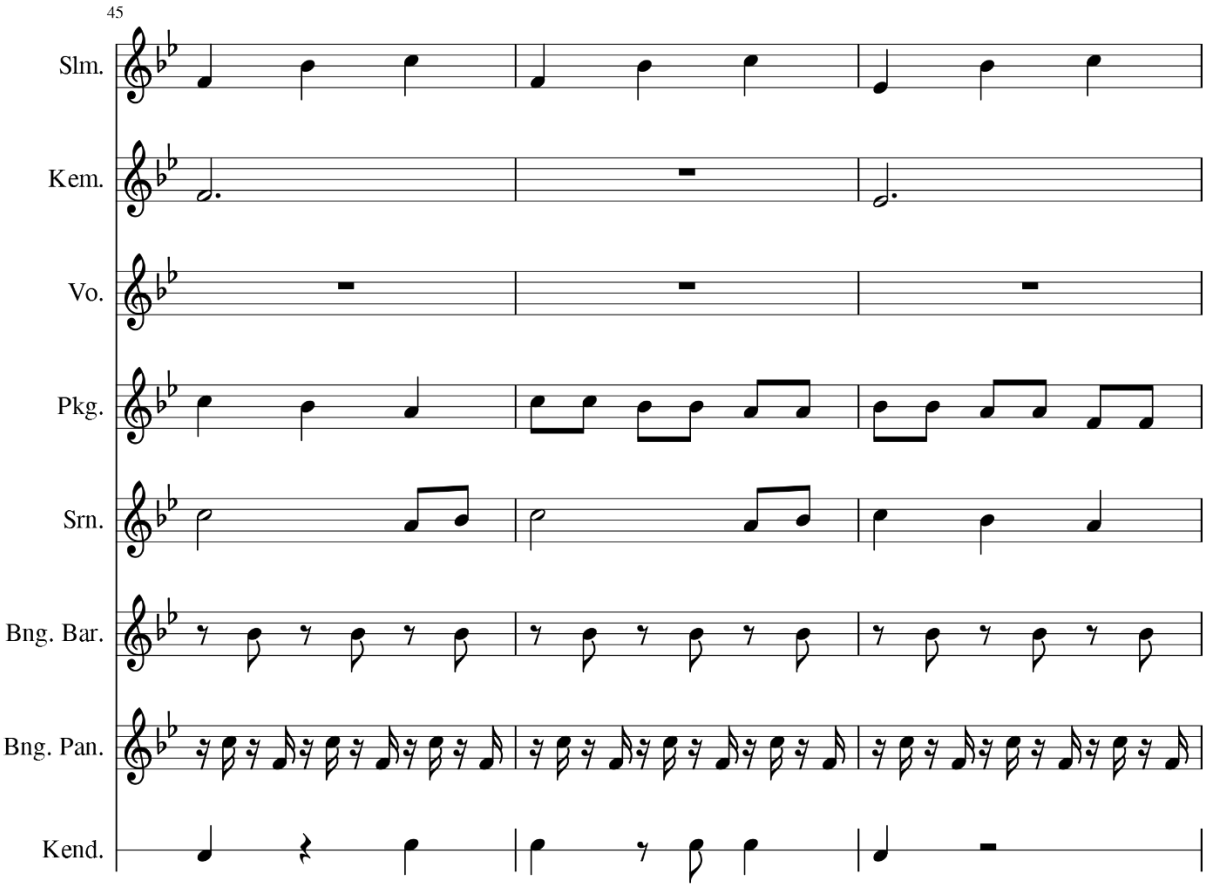

33
Slm.
Kem.
Vo.
through the ha - zel
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

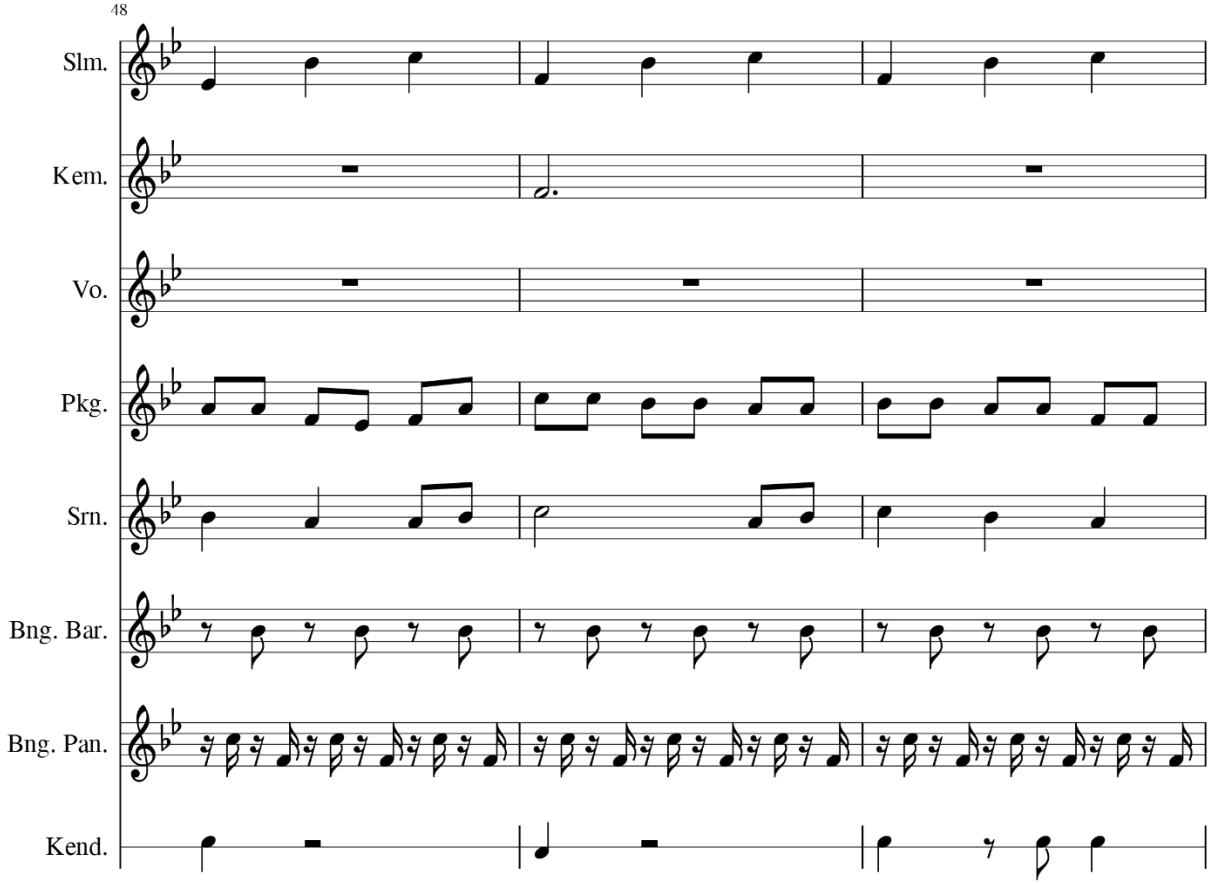

35
Slm.
Kem.
Vo.
spread ing
wide
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

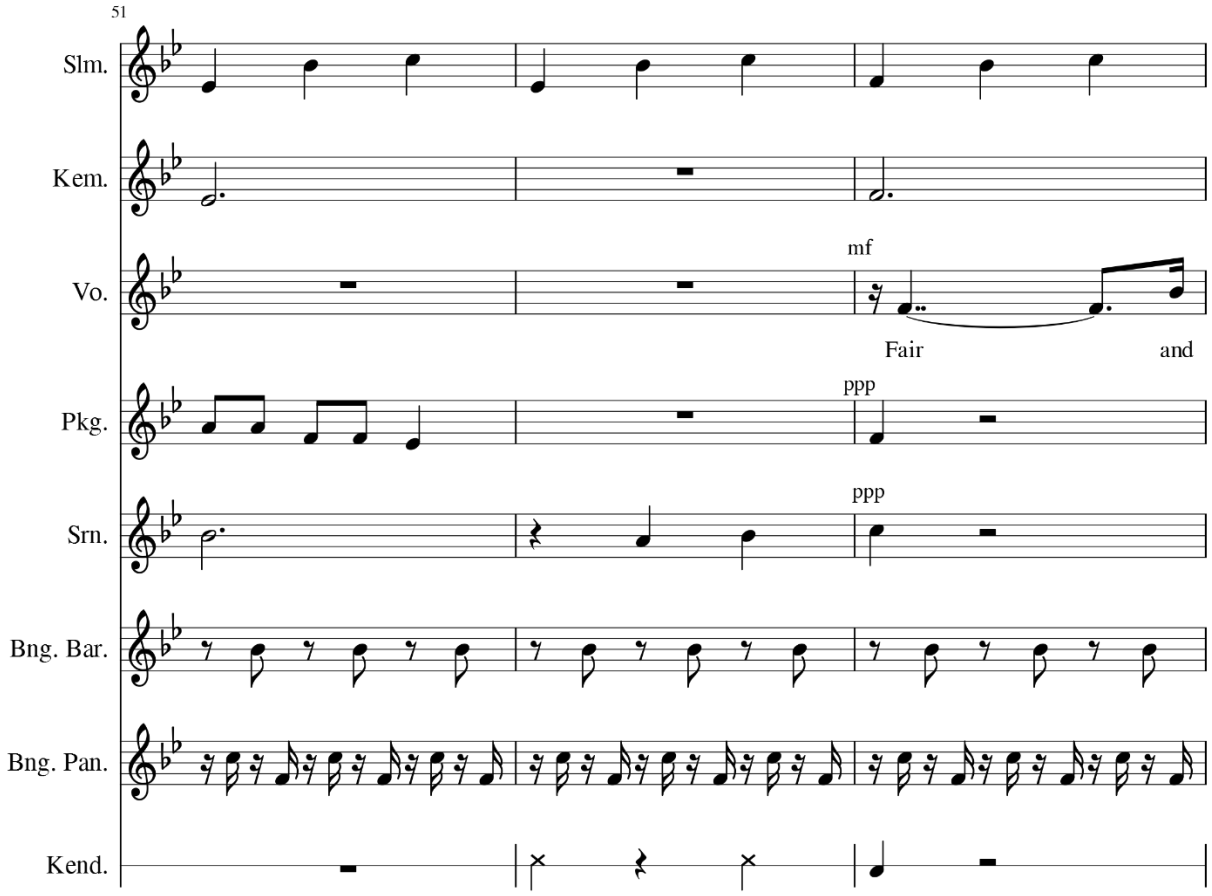

37
Slm.
Kem.
Vo.
O'er
the
waves
that
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

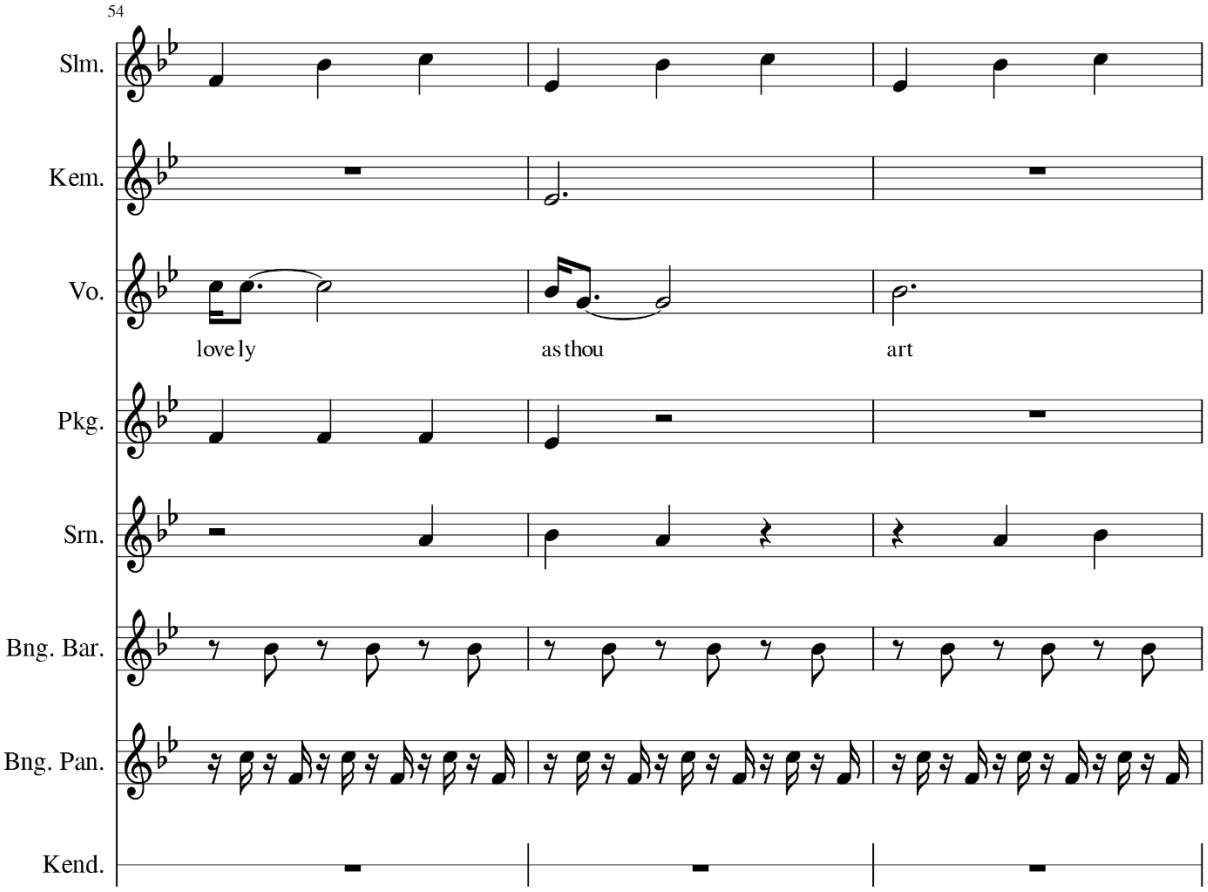

39
Slm.
Kem.
Vo.
sweet ly
glide
tae
the
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

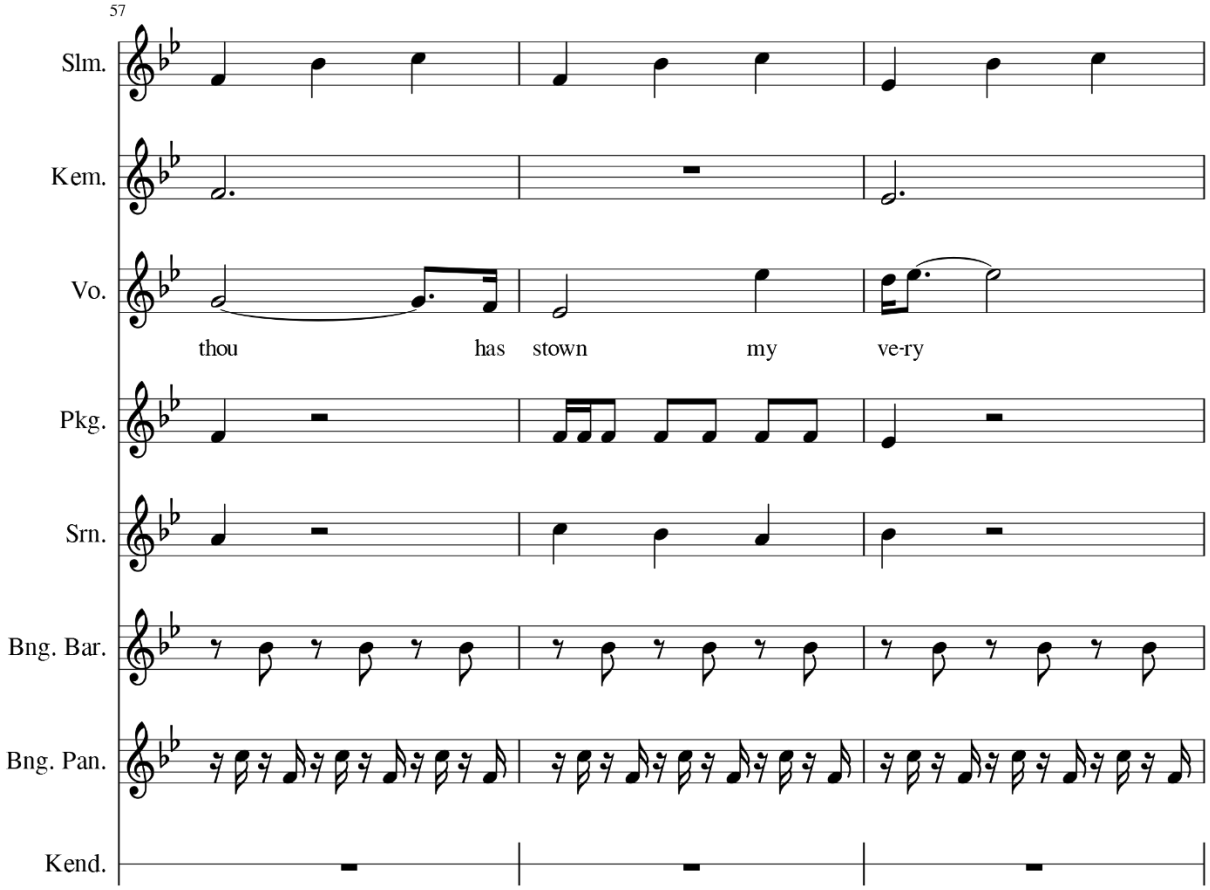

42
Slm.
Kem.
Vo.
moon sae clear - ly
Pkg.
f
Srn.
f
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

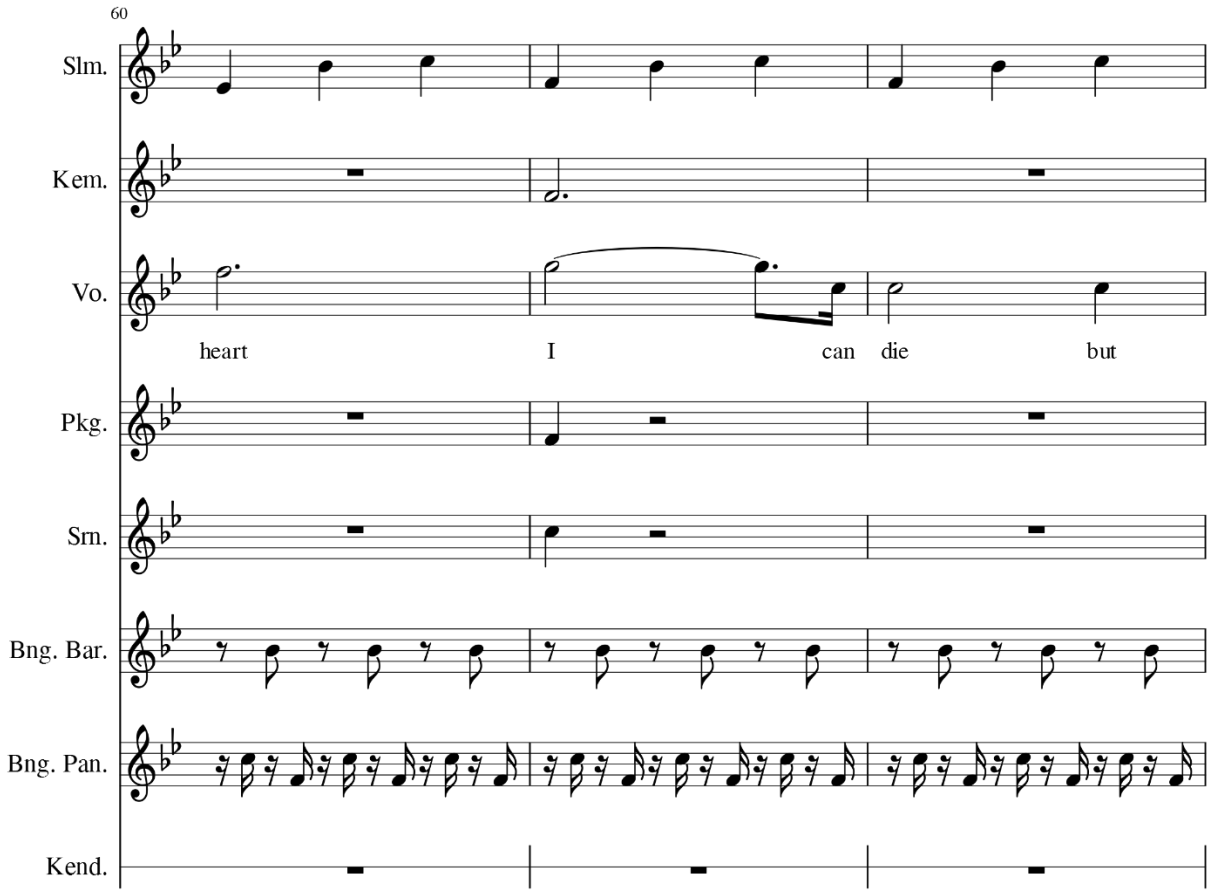

45
Slm.
Kem.
Vo.
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

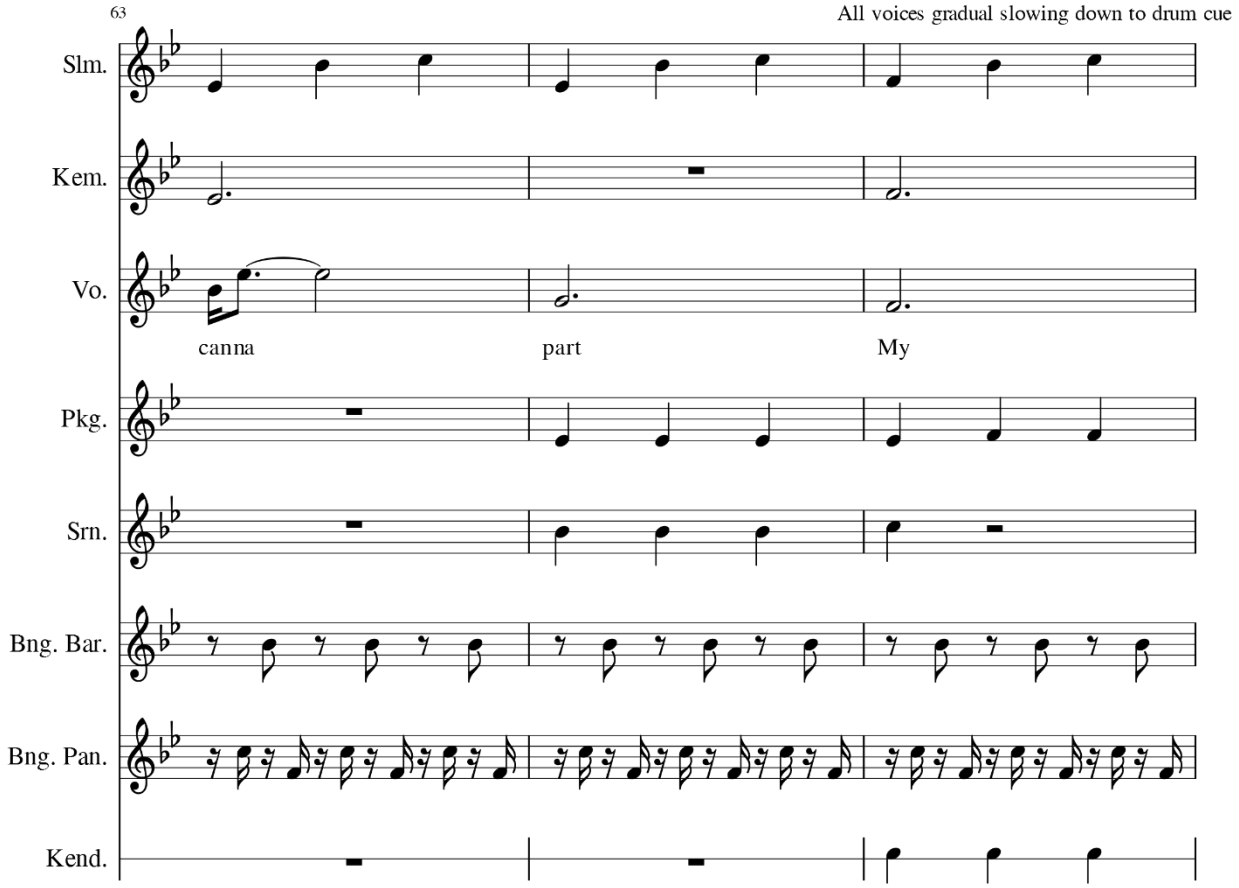

48
Slm.
Kem.
Vo.
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

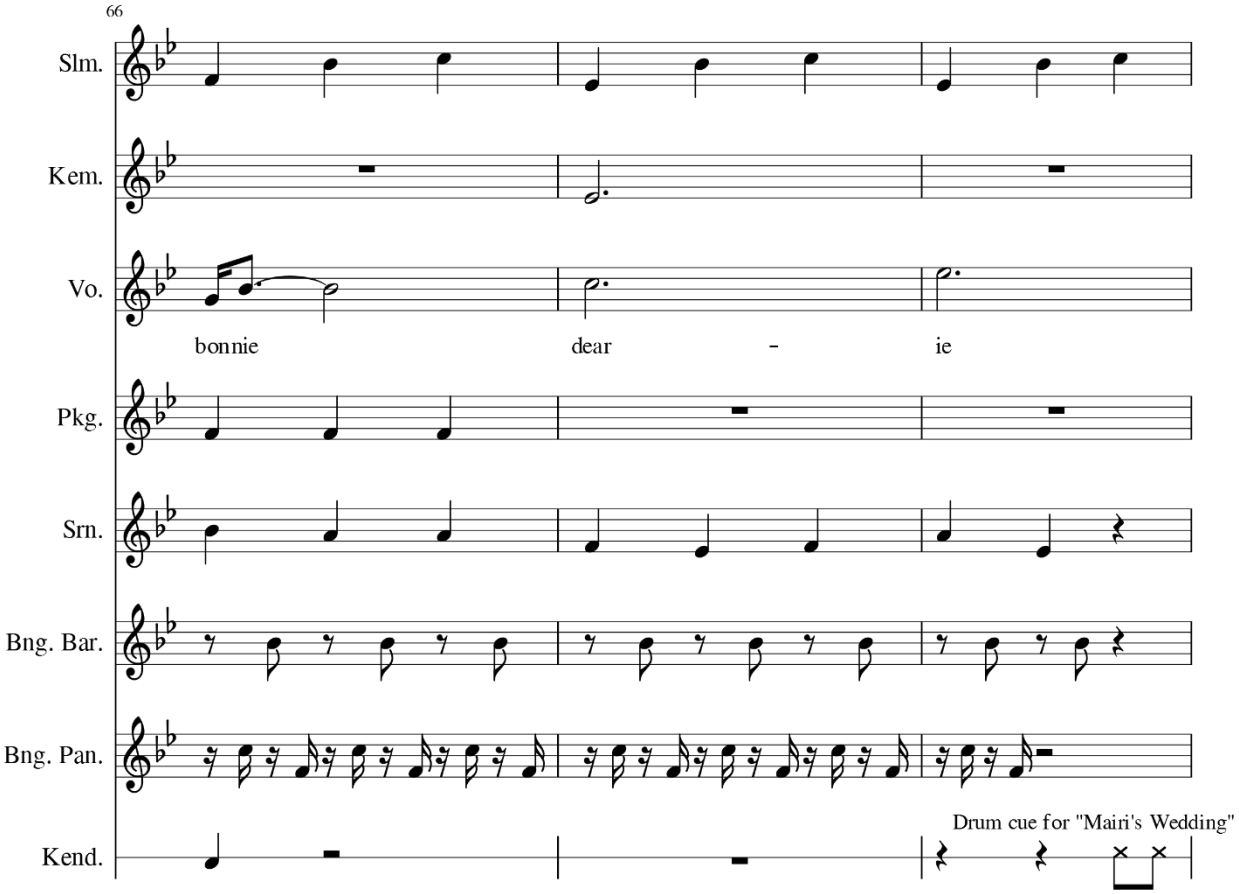

51
Slm.
Kem.
Vo.
mf
Fair
and
Pkg.
ppp
Srn.
ppp
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.


54
Slm.
Kem.
Vo.
love ly
as thou
art
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

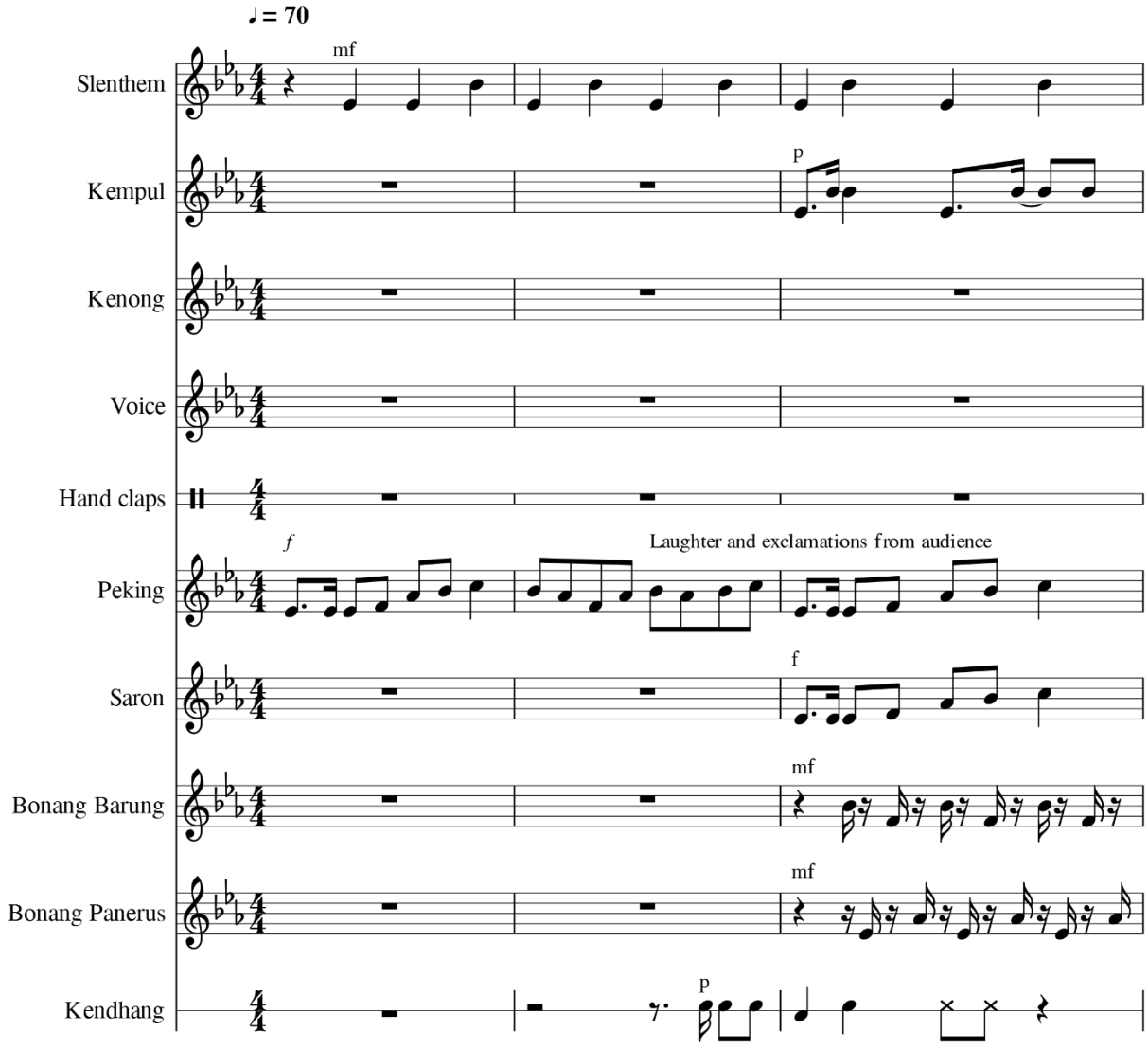

57
Slm.
Kem.
Vo.
thou has stown my ve-ry
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

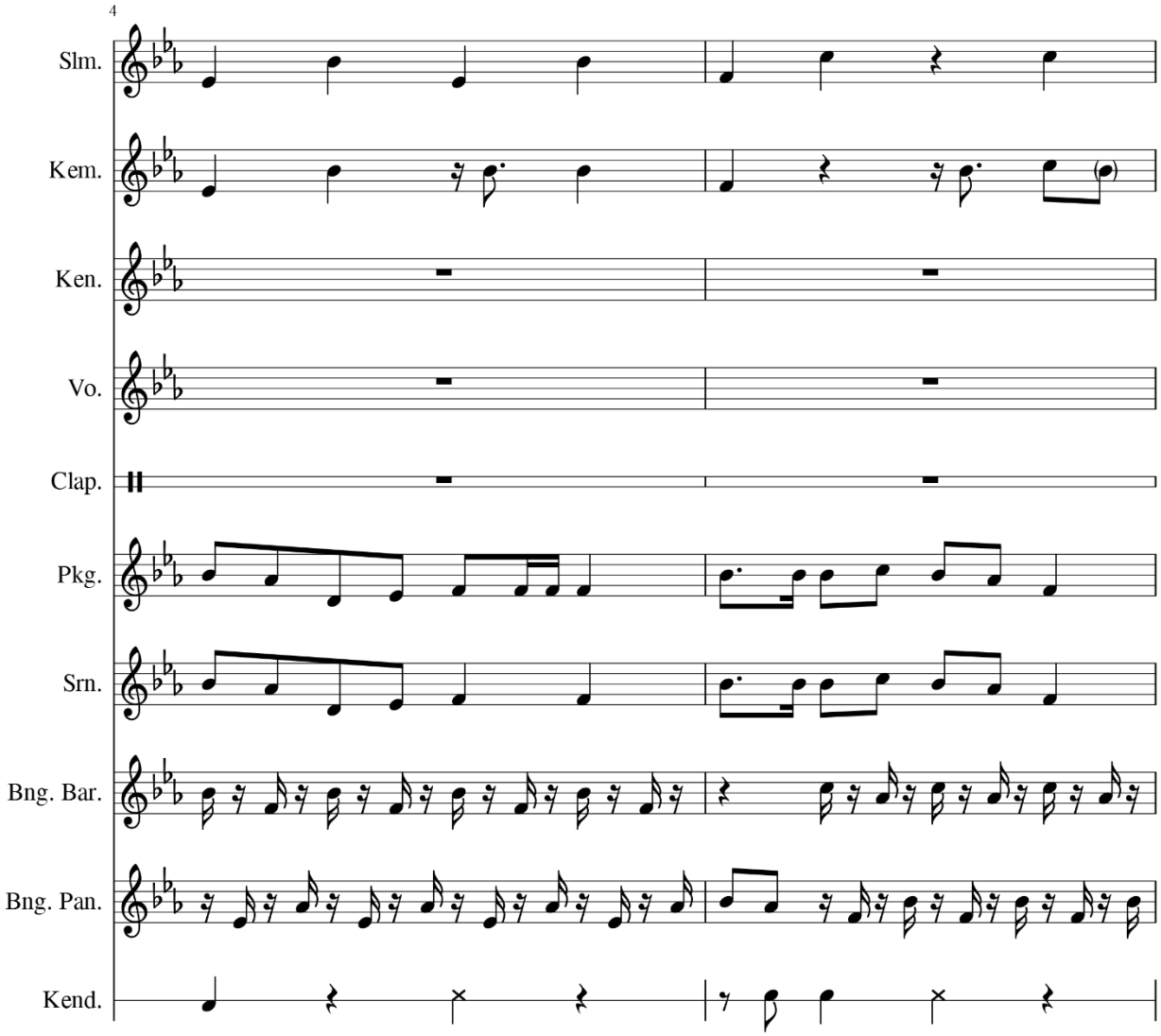

60
Slm.
Kem.
Vo.
heart
I
can
die
but
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

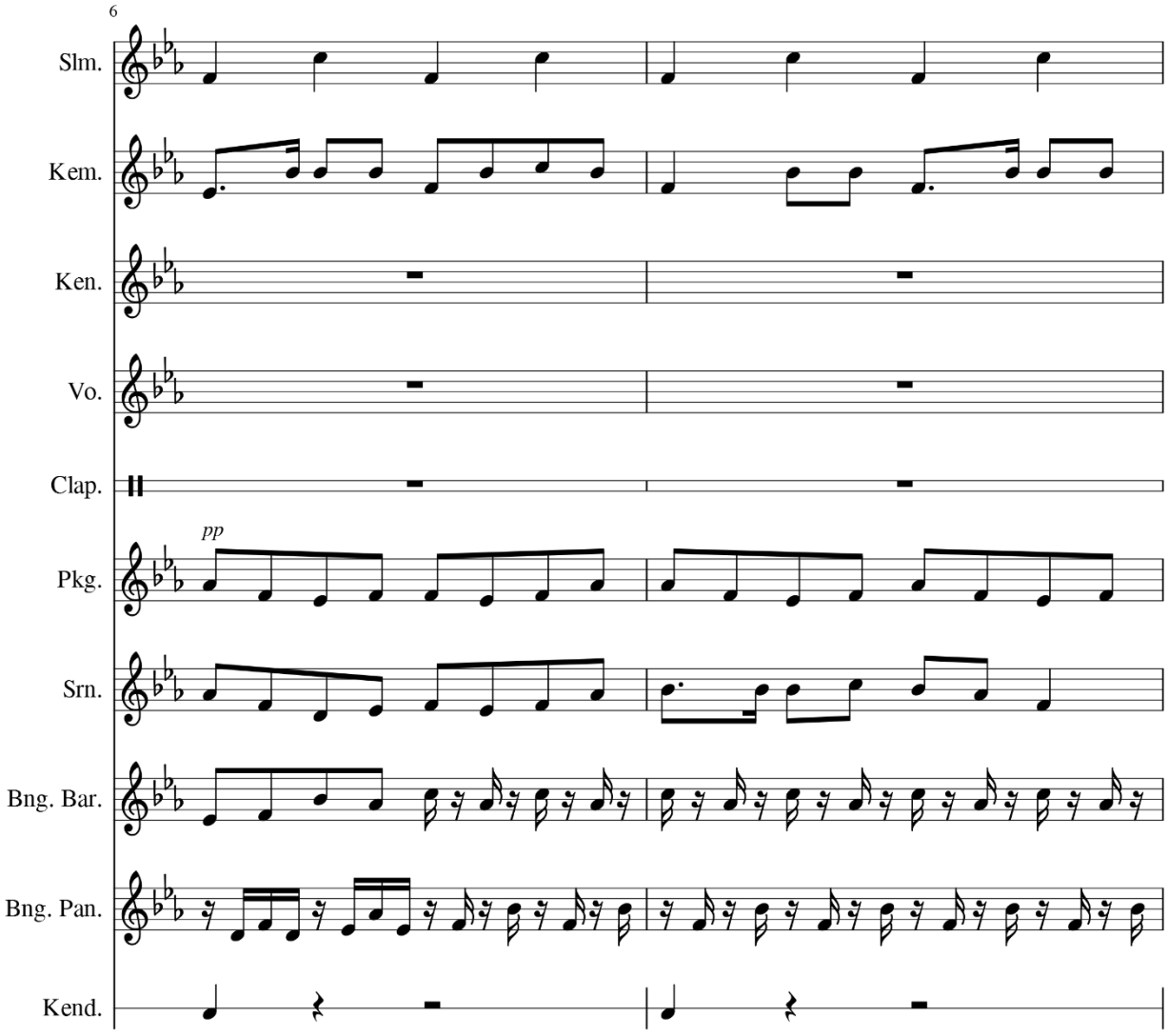

63
All voices gradual slowing down to drum cue
Slm.
Kem.
Vo.
canna
part
My
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

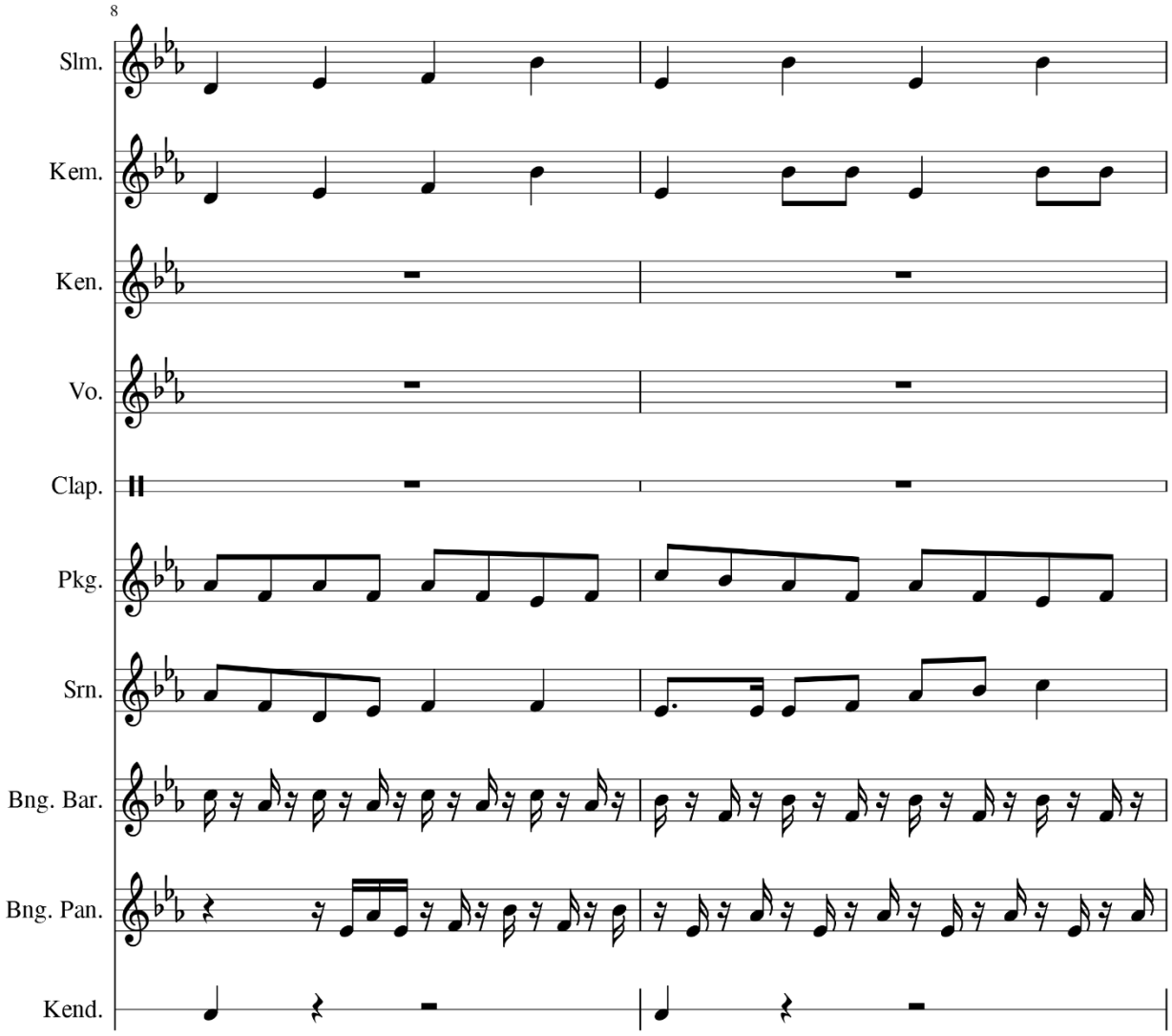

66
Slm.
Kem.
Vo.
bonnie
dear
-
ie
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.
Drum cue for "Mairi's Wedding"

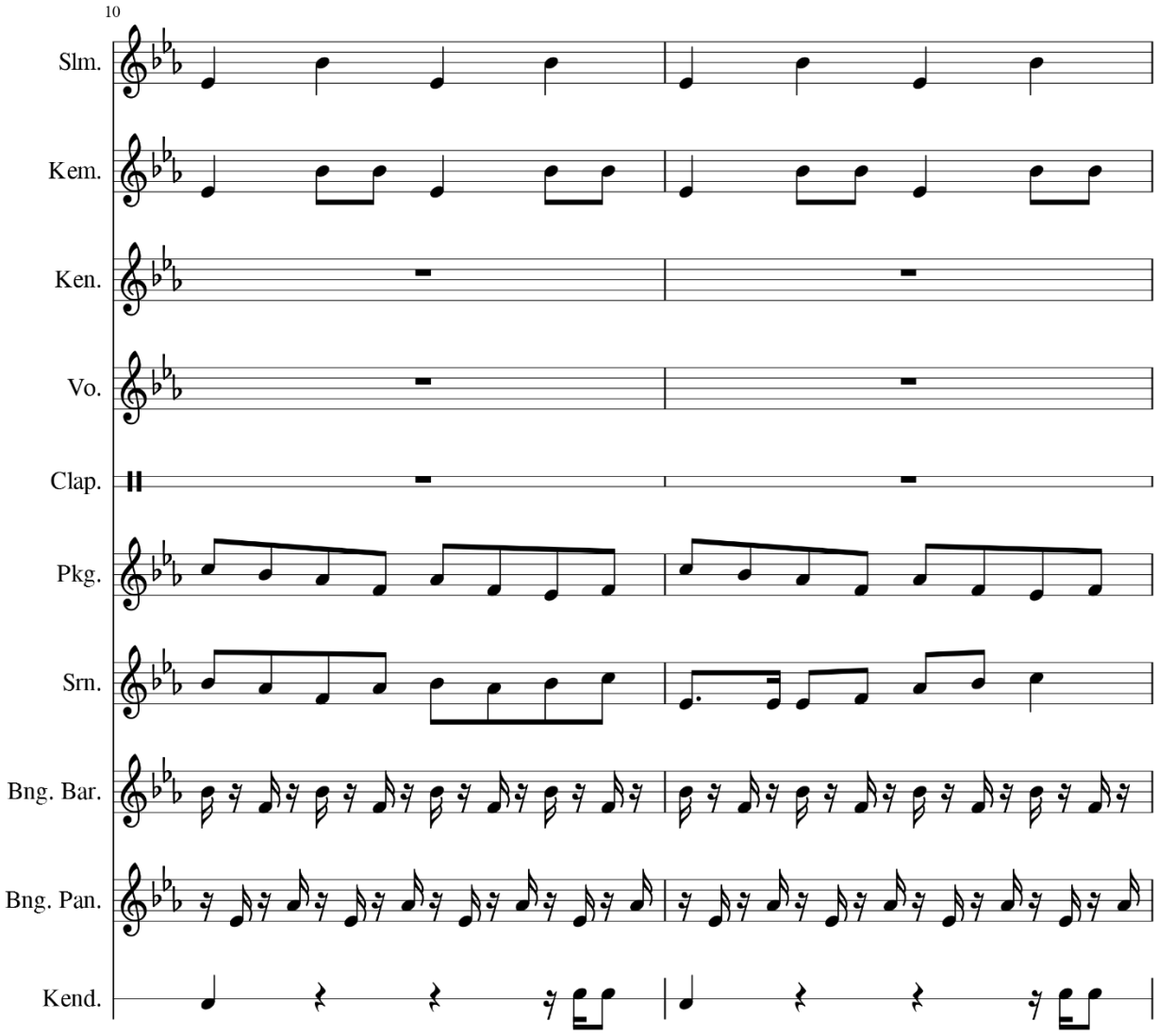
The Lokananta Suite - Mairi's Wedding

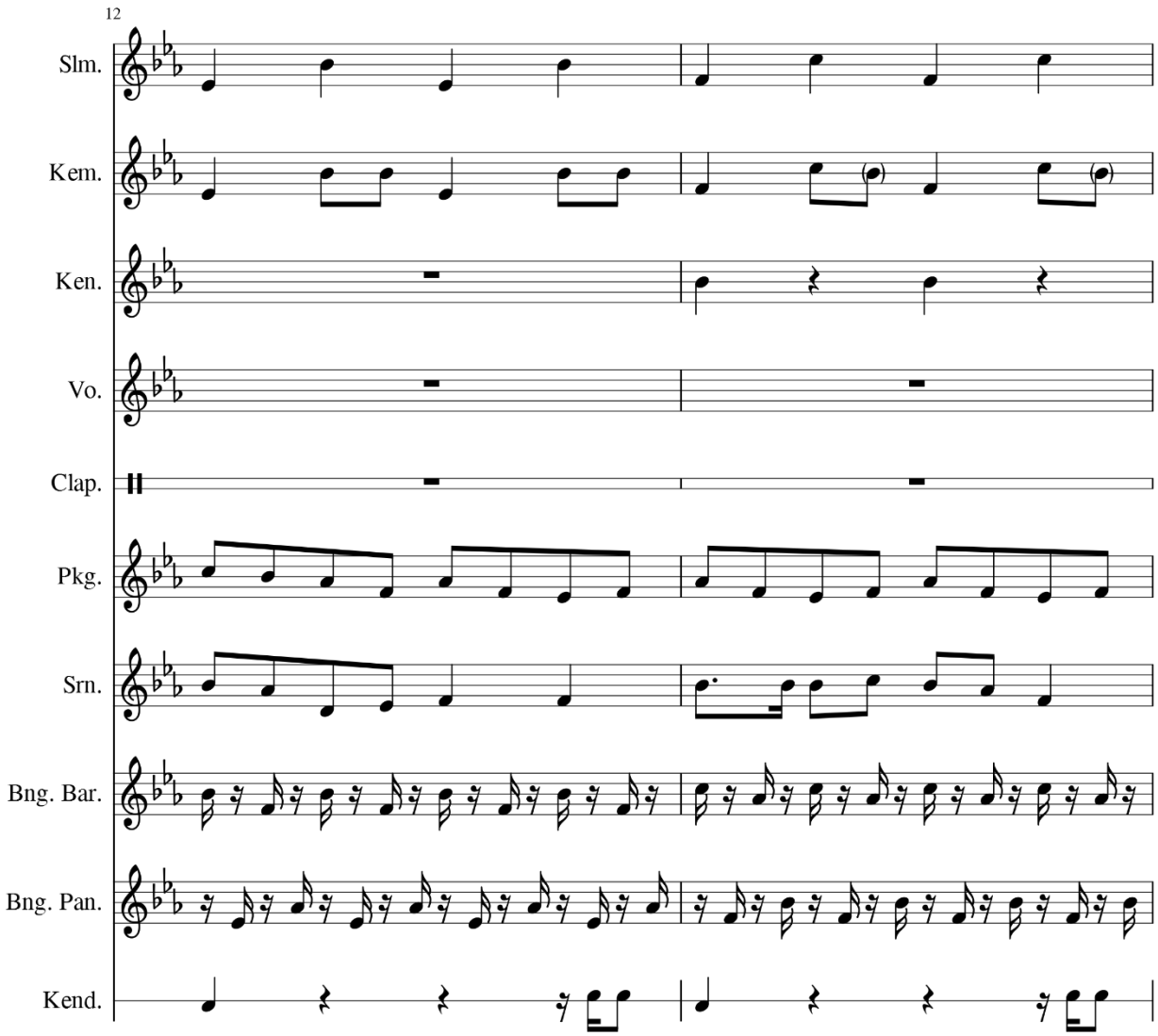


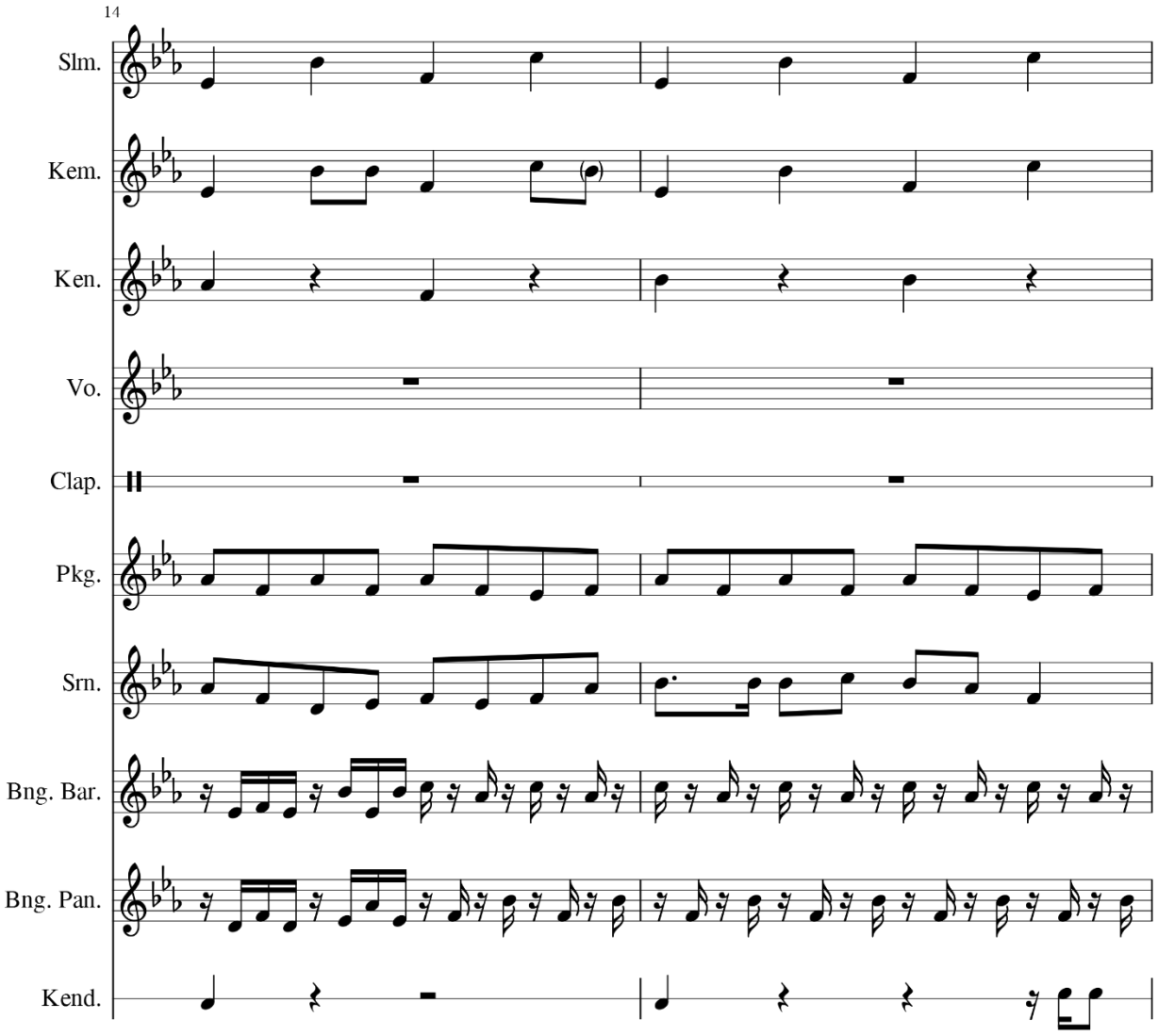

4
Slm.
Kem.
Ken.
Vo.
Clap.
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

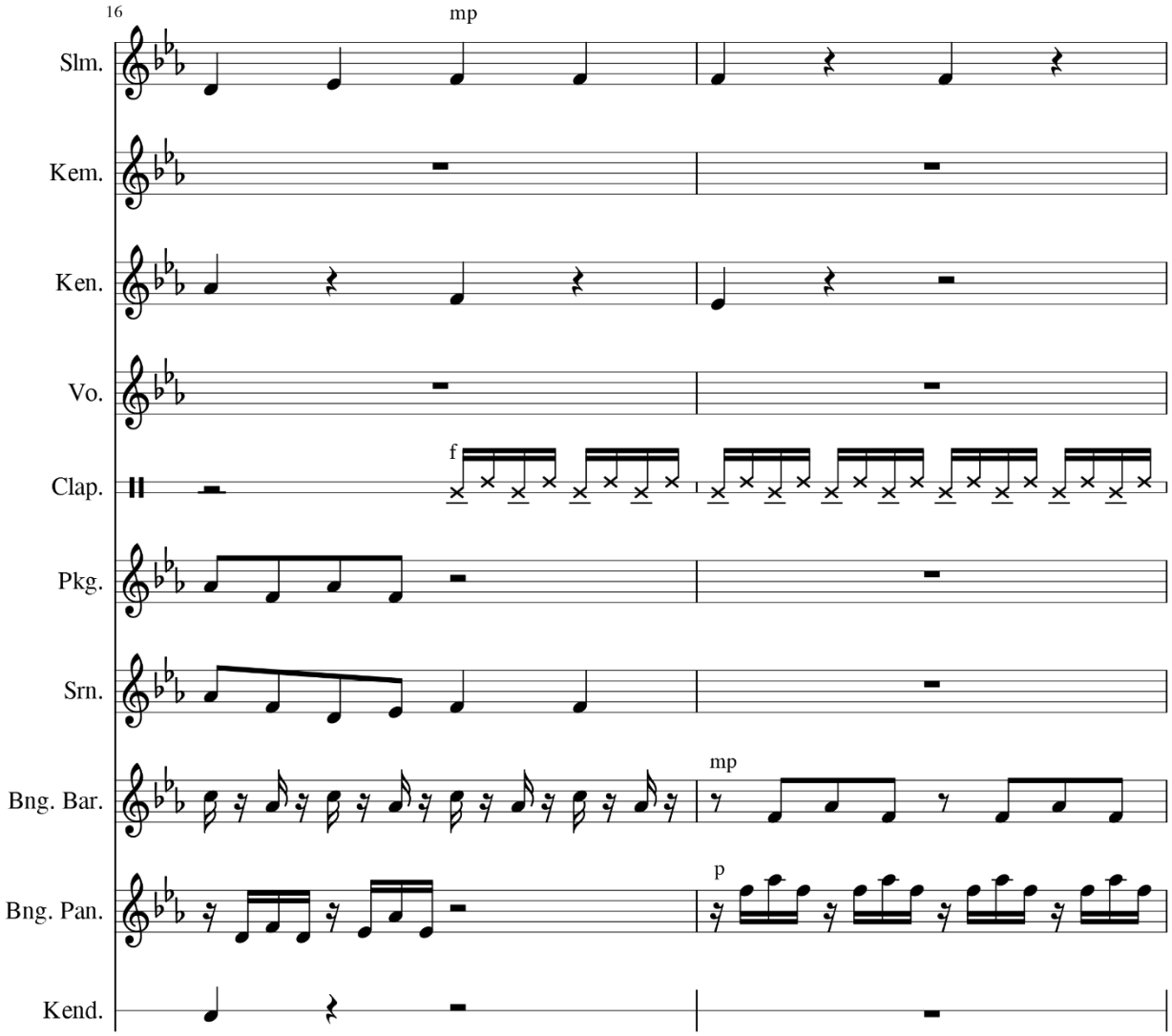

6
Slm.
Kem.
Ken.
Vo.
Clap.
pp
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

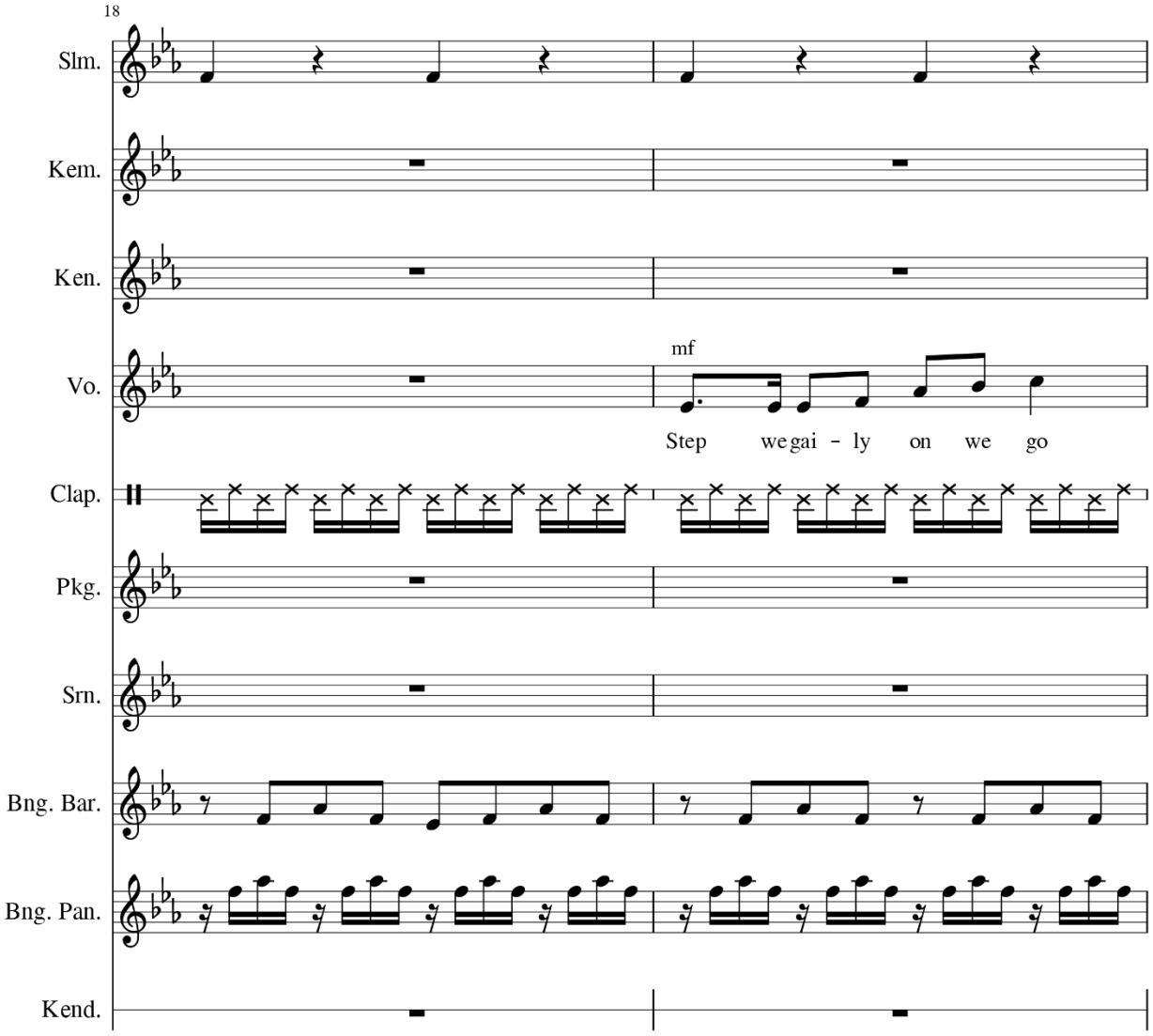

8
Slm.
Kem.
Ken.
Vo.
Clap.
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

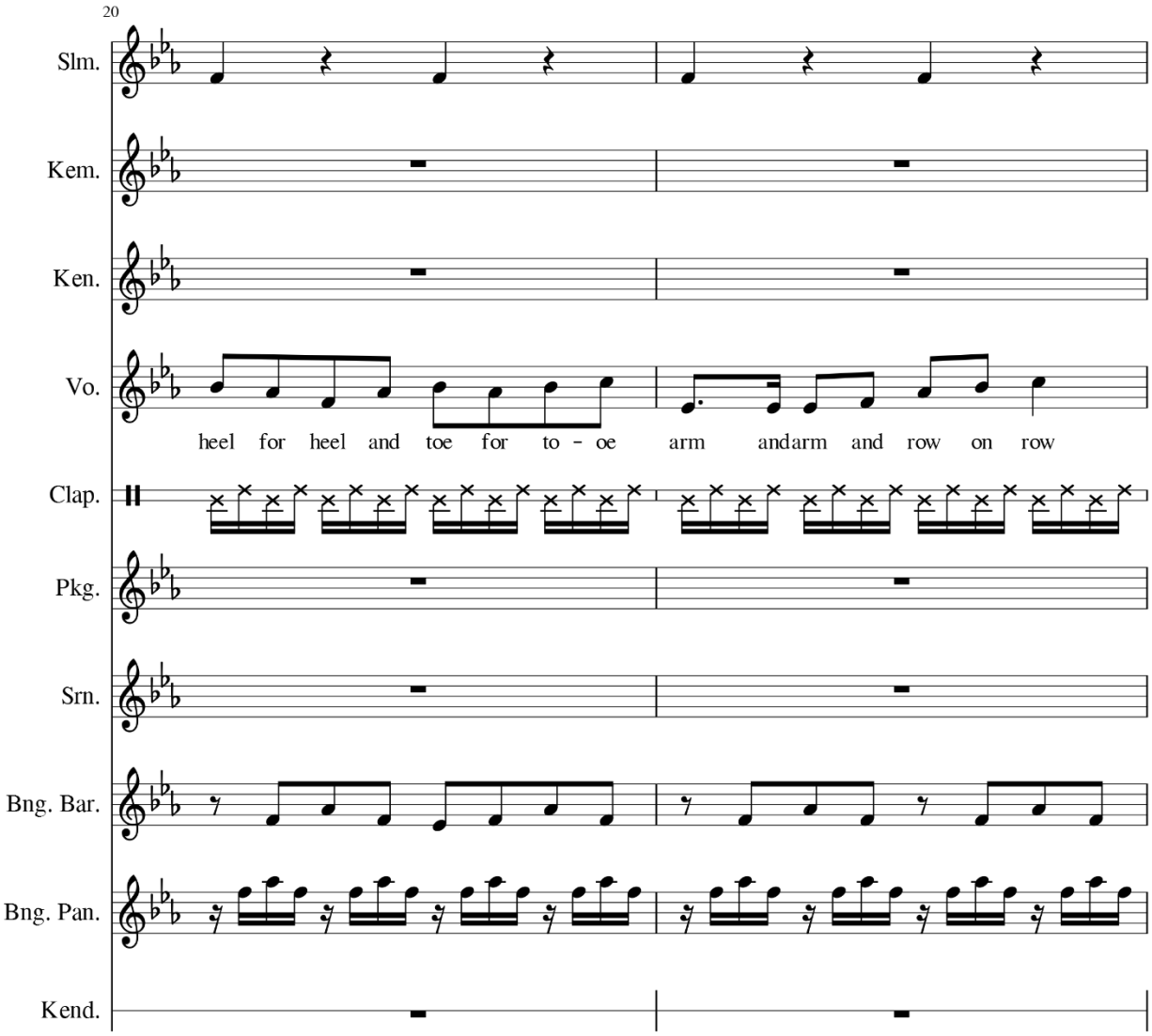

10
Slm.
Kem.
Ken.
Vo.
Clap.
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

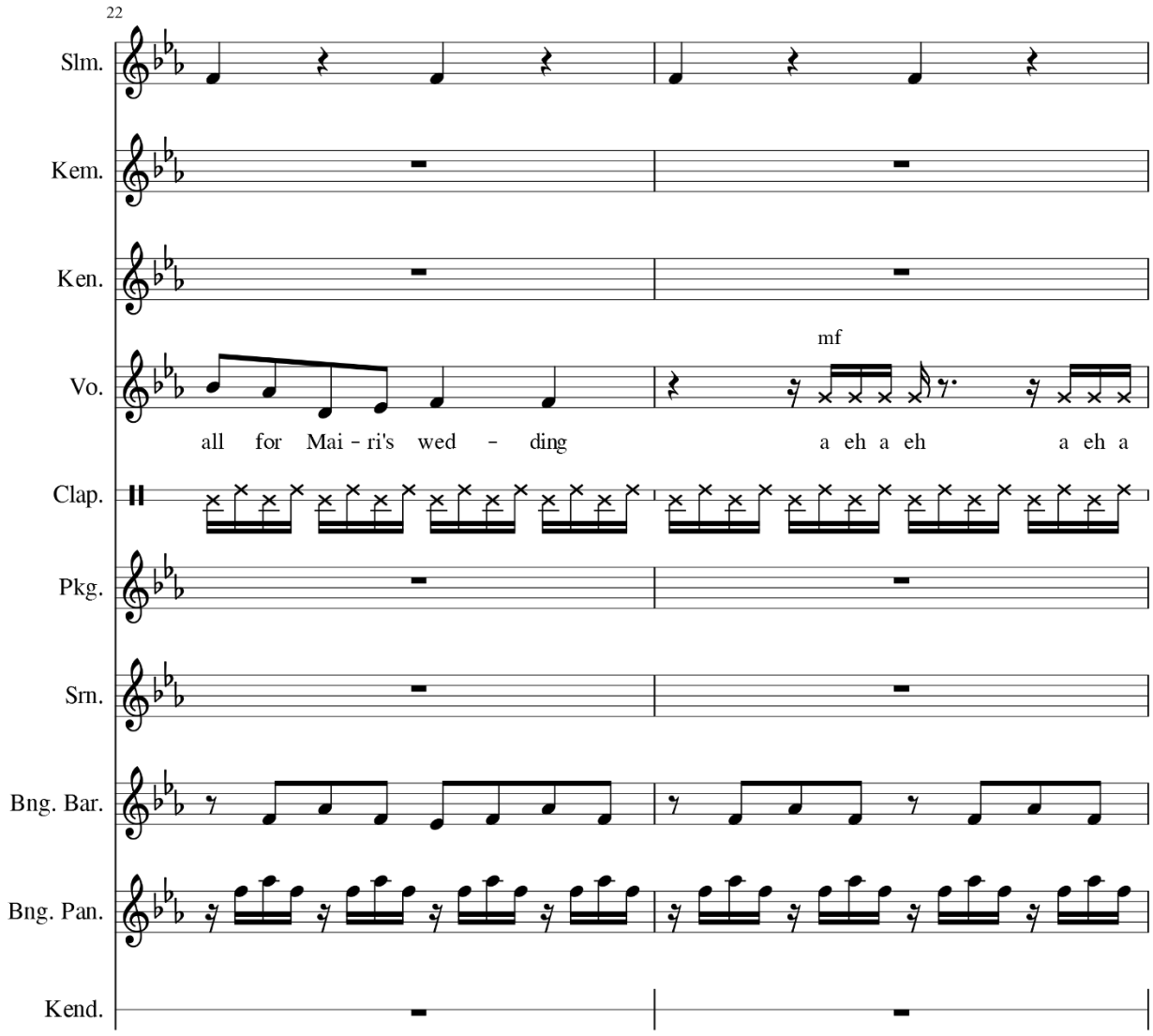

12
Slm.
Kem.
Ken.
Vo.
Clap.
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

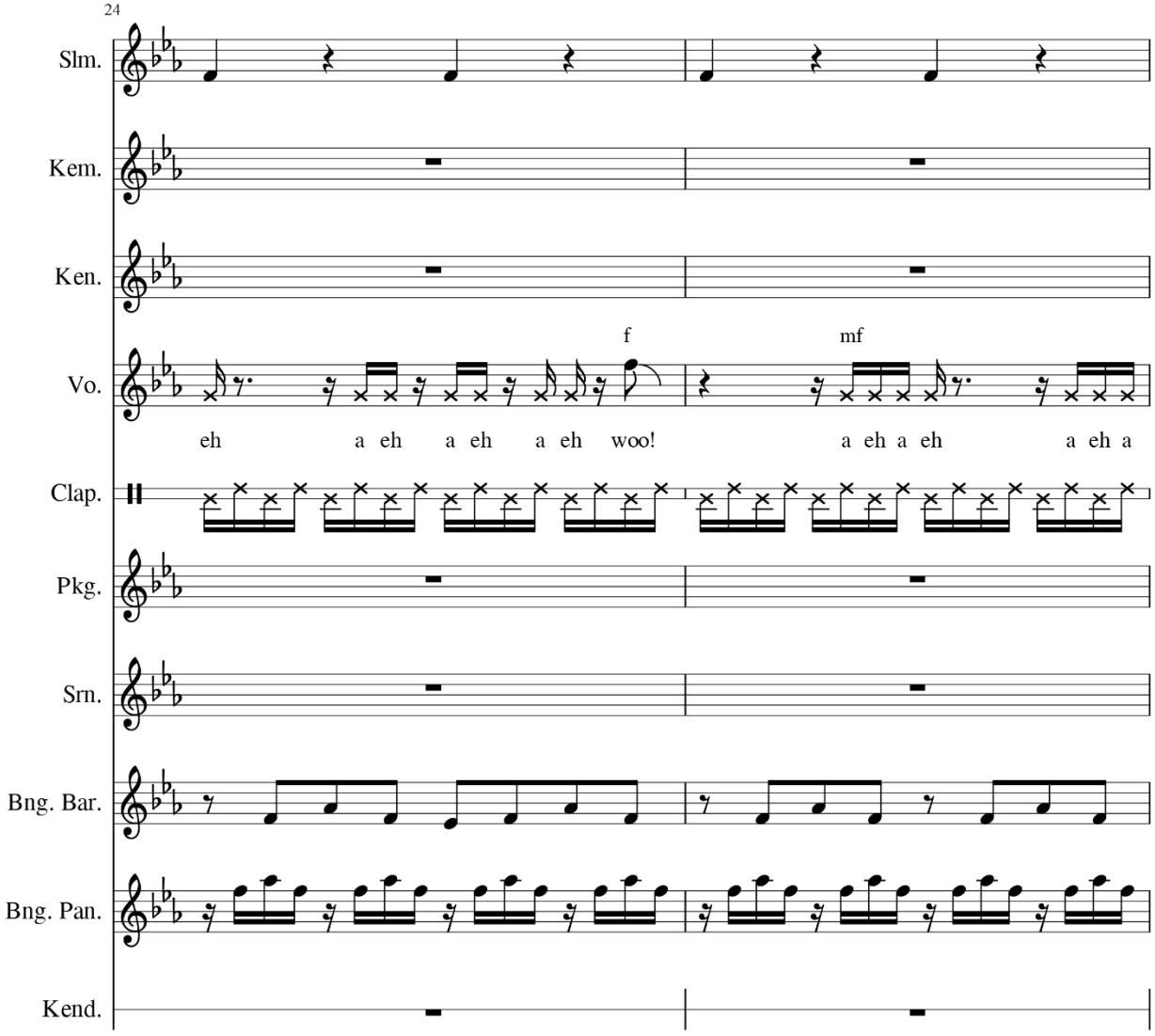

14
Slm.
Kem.
Ken.
Vo.
Clap.
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

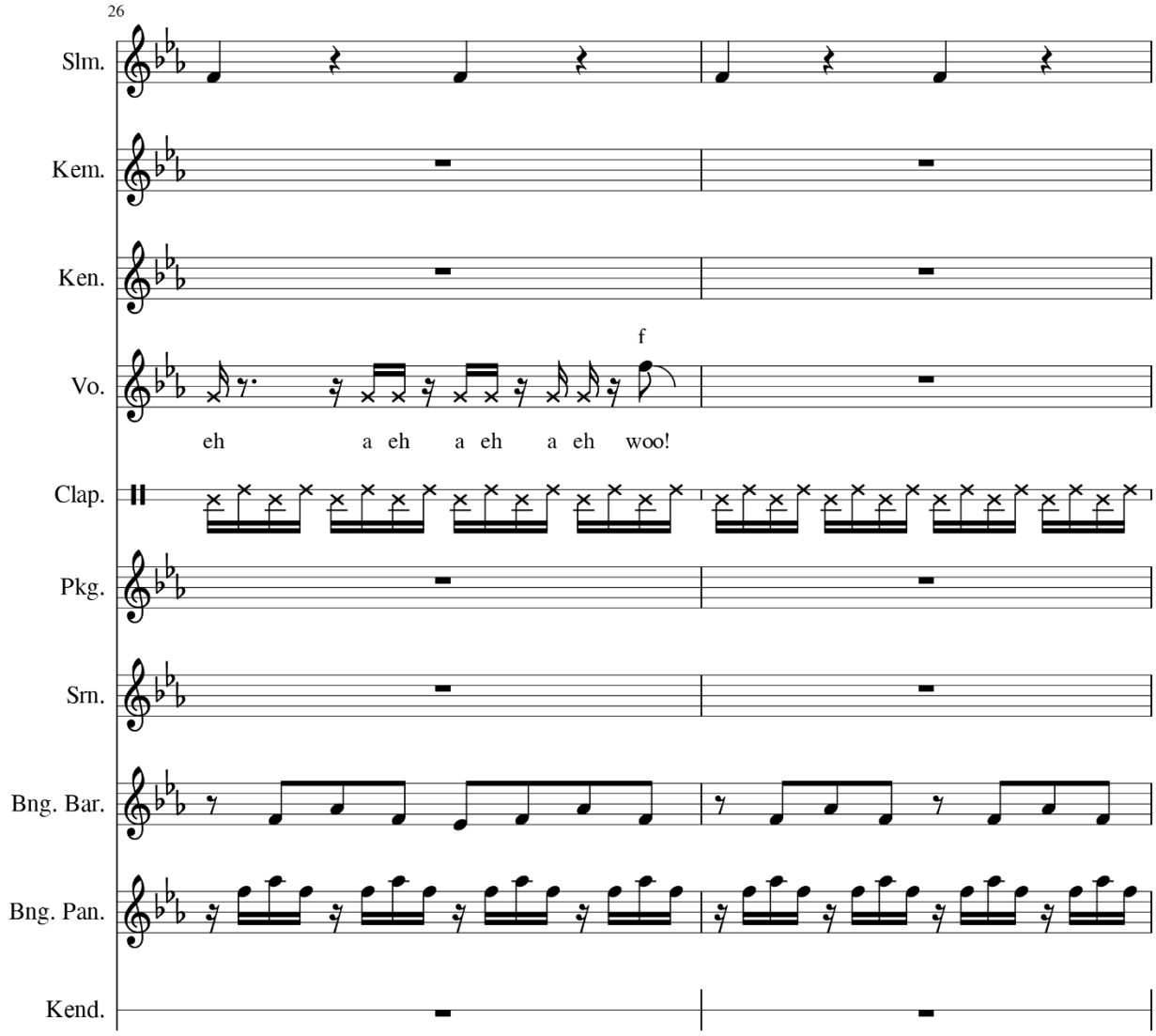

16
mp
Slm.
Kem.
Ken.
Vo.
f
Clap.
Pkg.
Srn.
mp
Bng. Bar.
p
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

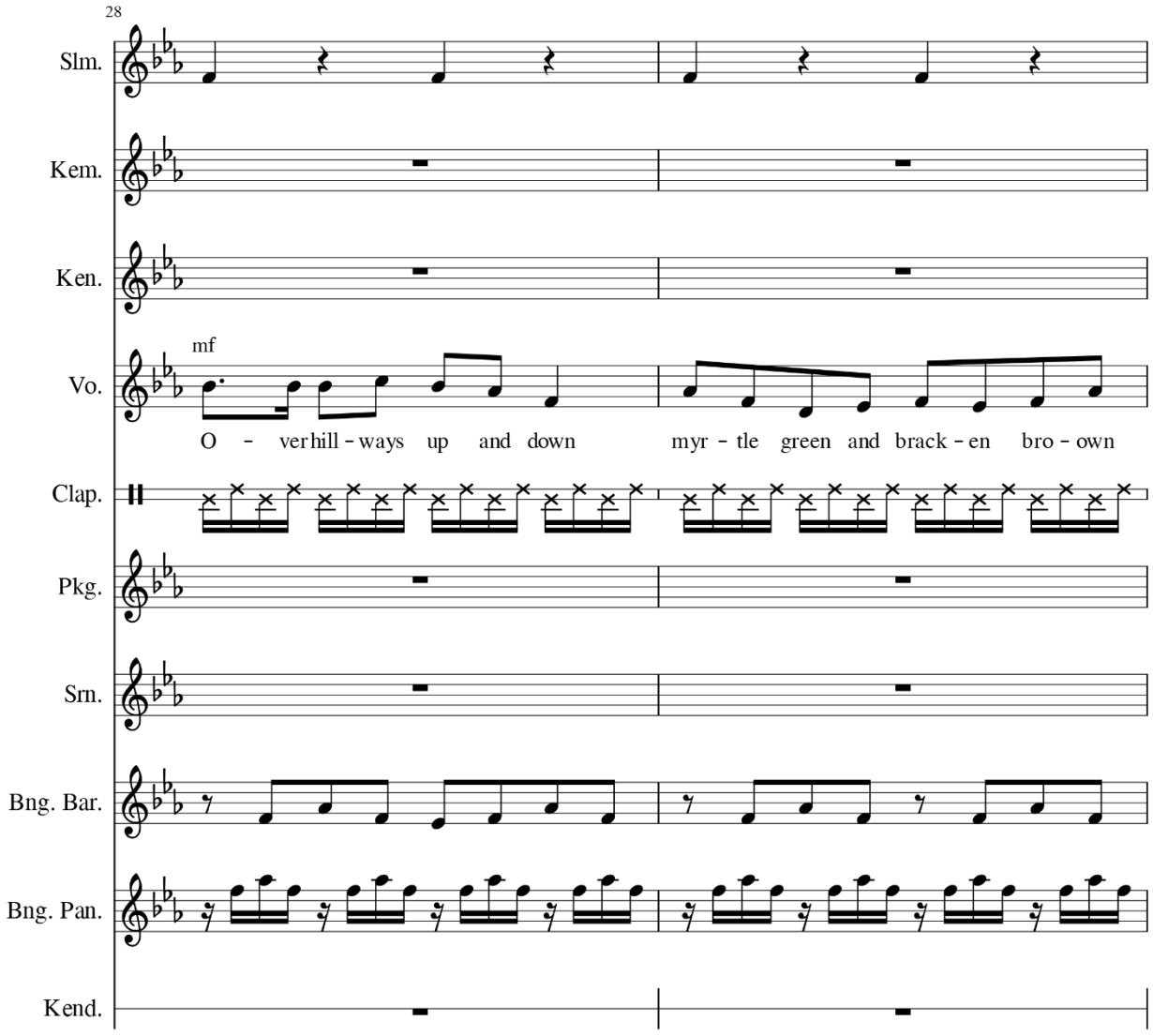

18
Slm.
Kem.
Ken.
Vo.
mf
Step we gai - ly on we go
Clap.
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

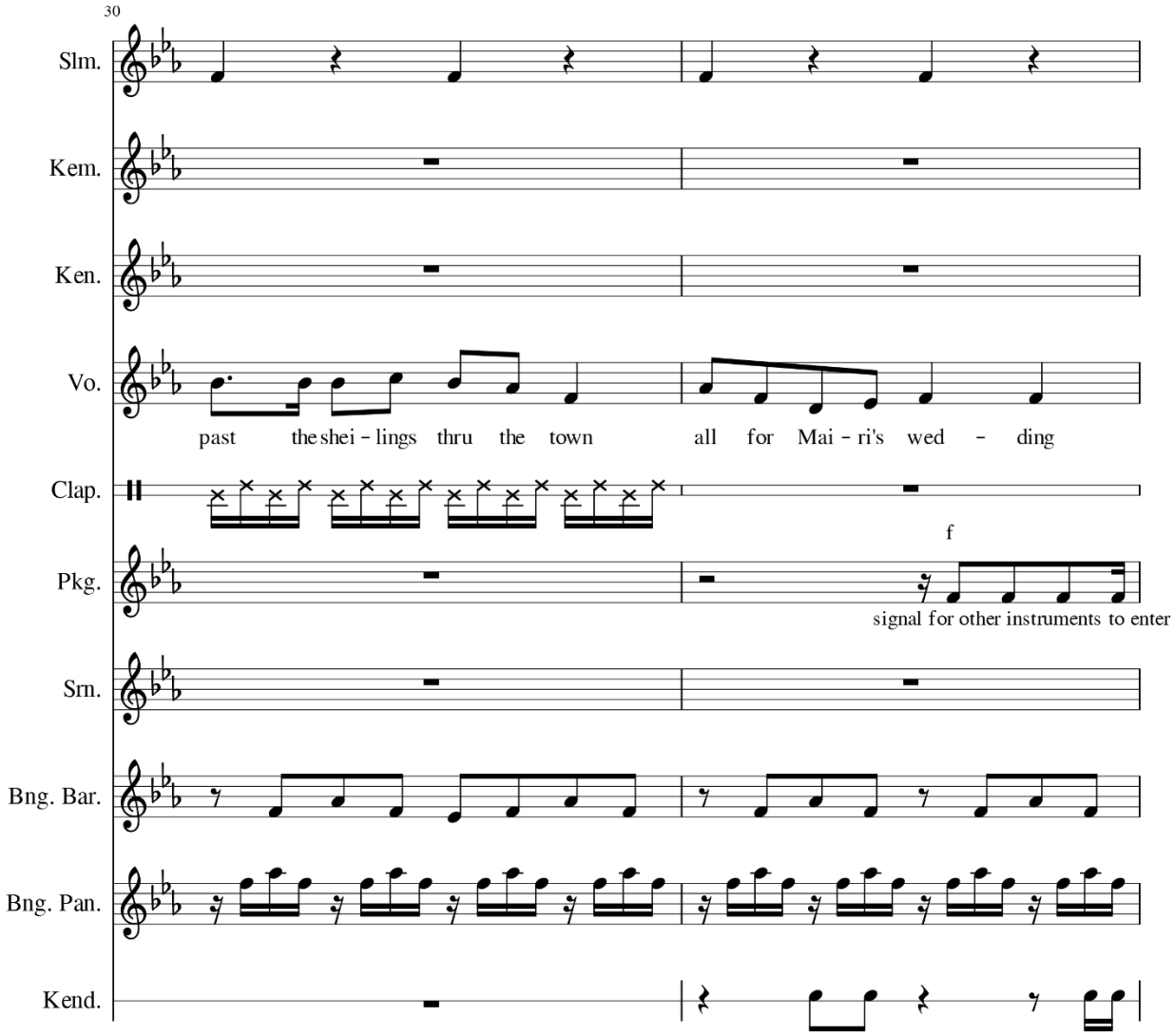

20
Slm.
Kem.
Ken.
Vo.
heel for heel and toe for to - oe arm andarm and row on row
Clap.
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

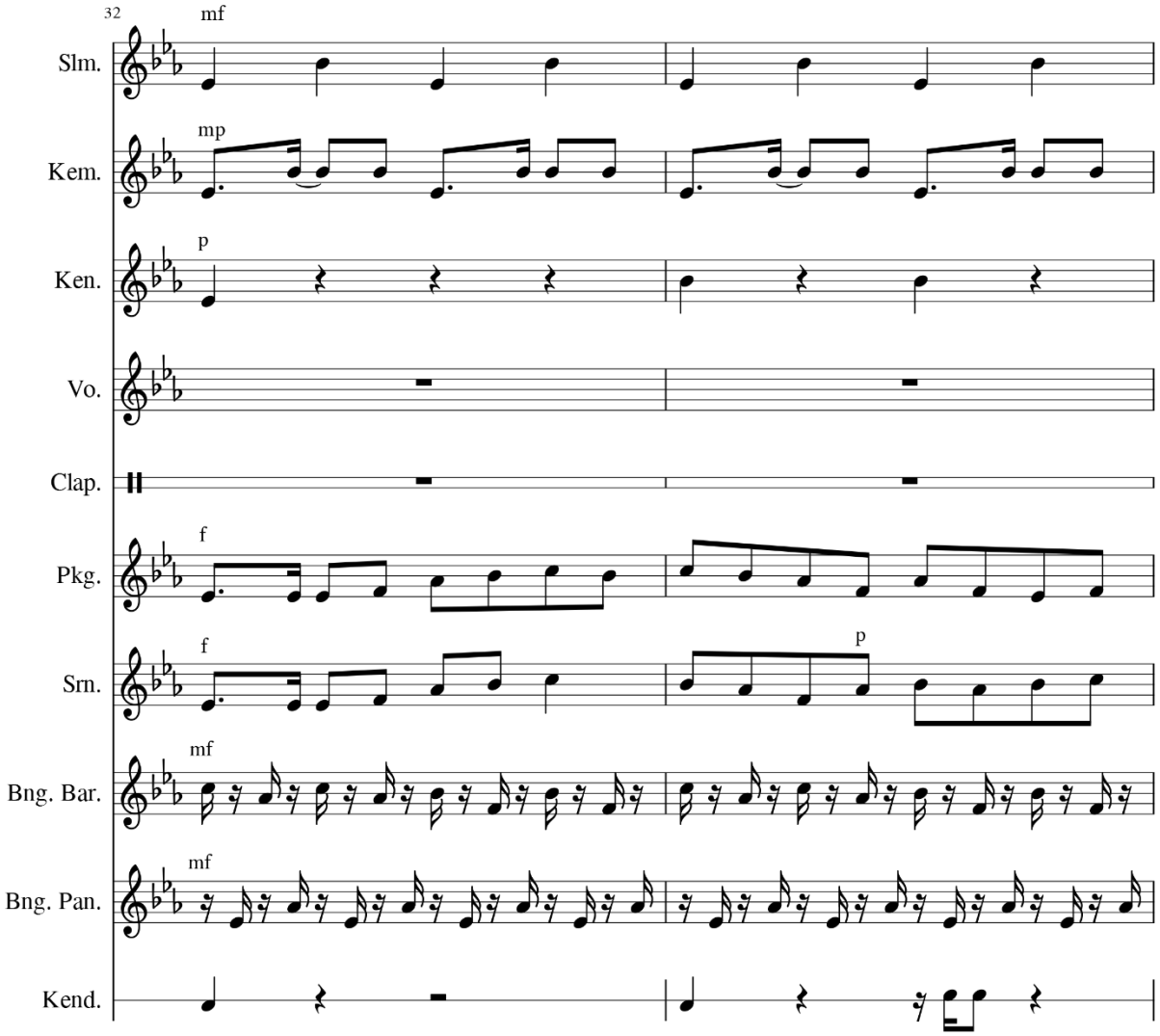

22
Slm.
Kem.
Ken.
Vo.
mf
all for Mai - ri's wed - ding
a eh a eh
a eh a
Clap.
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

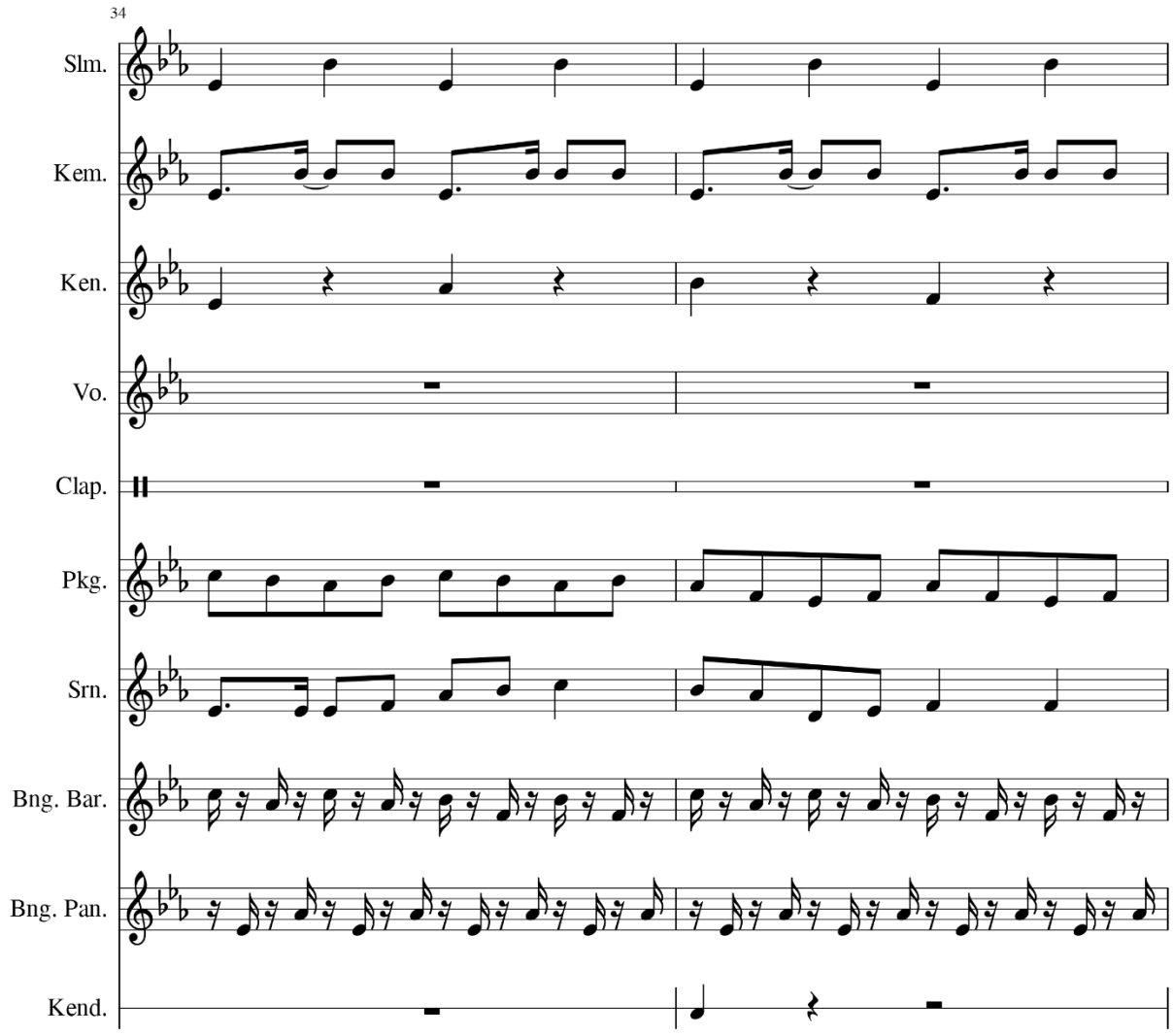

24
Slm.
Kem.
Ken.
Vo.
f
mf
eh a eh a eh a eh woo! a eh a eh a eh a
Clap.
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

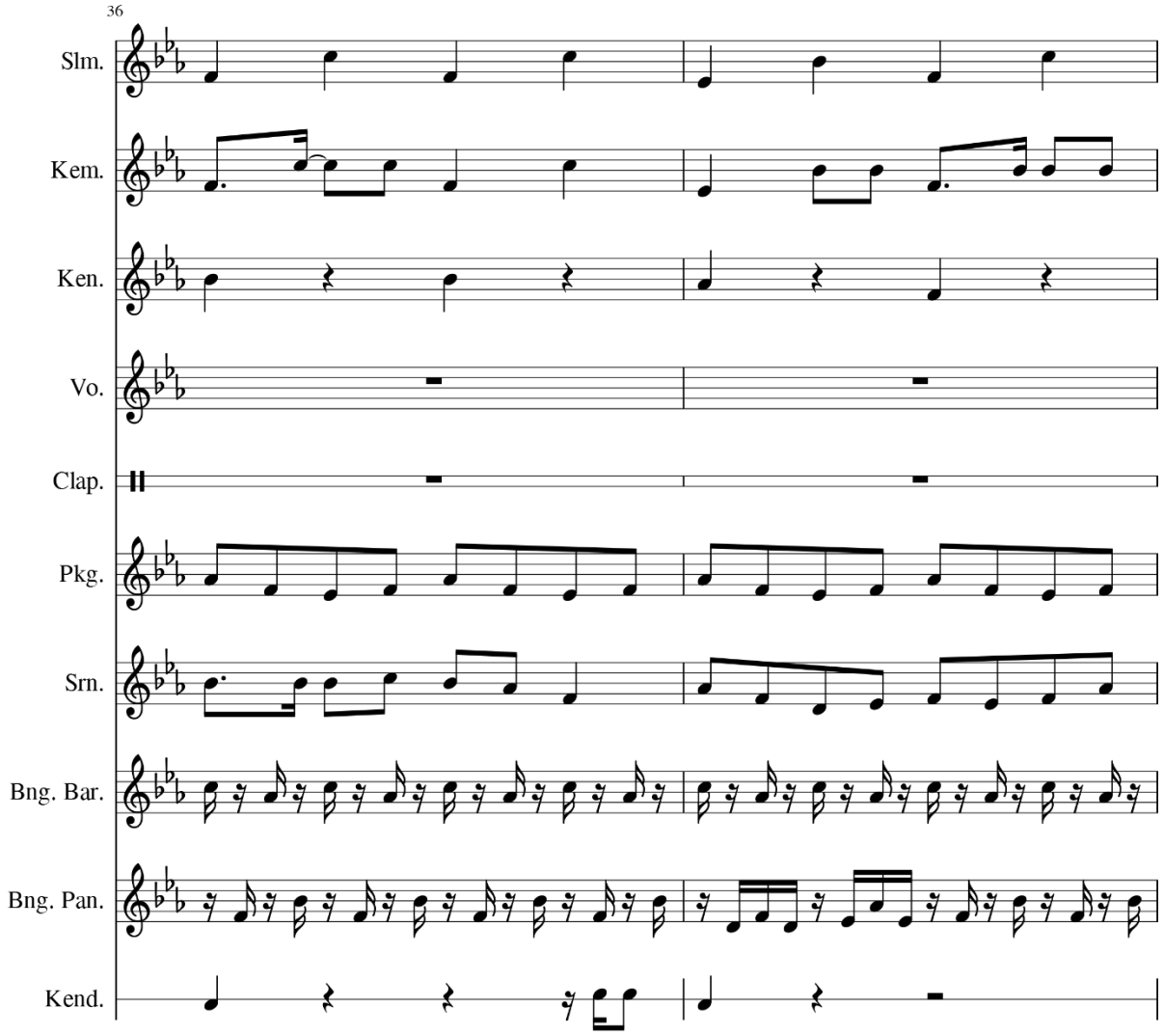

26
Slm.
Kem.
Ken.
f
Vo.
eh a eh a eh a eh woo!
Clap.
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

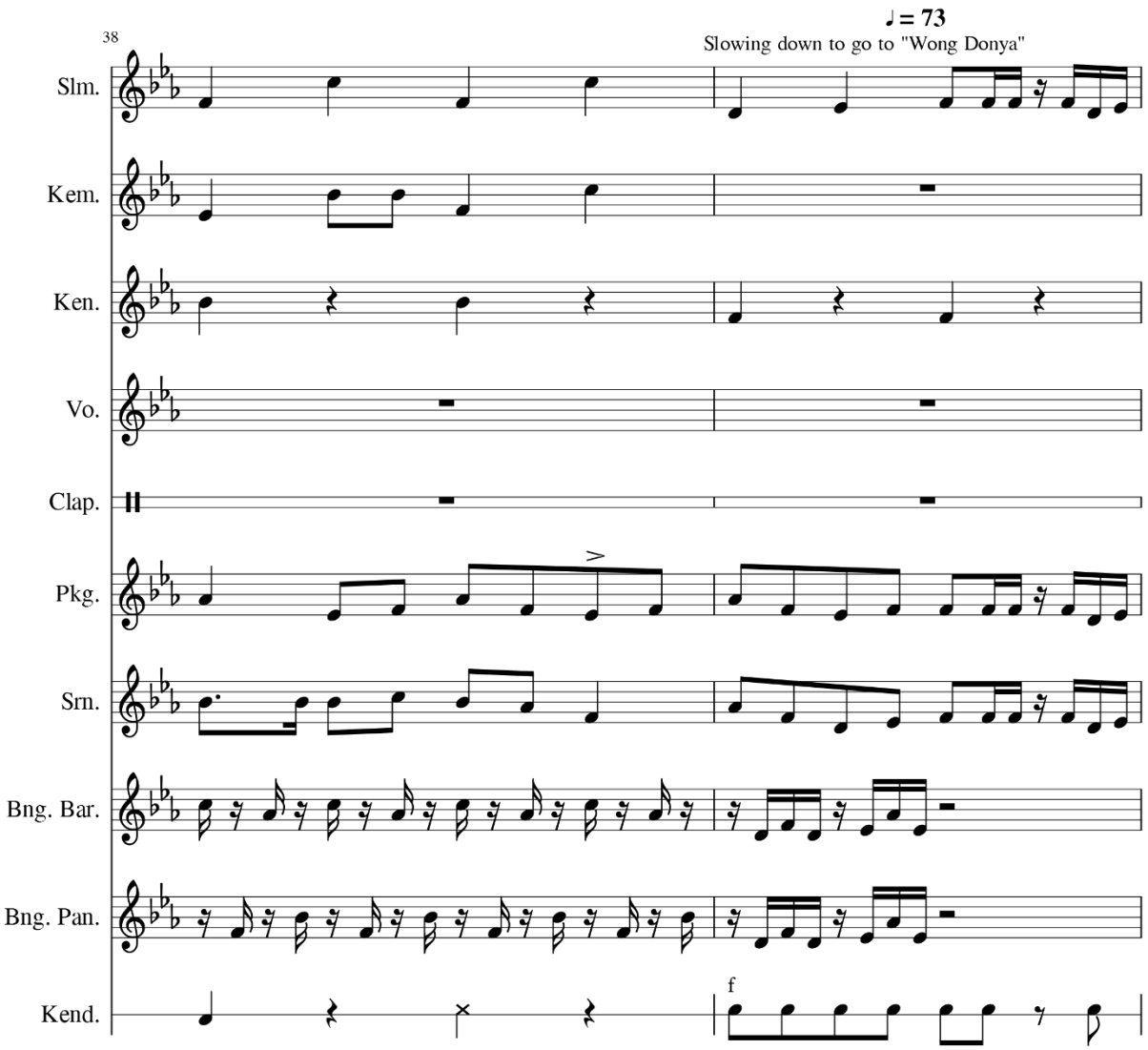

28
Slm.
Kem.
Ken.
mf
Vo.
O - ver hill - ways up and down myr - tle green and brack - en bro - own
Clap.
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.


30
Slm.
Kem.
Ken.
Vo.
past the shei - lings thru the town all for Mai - ri's wed - ding
Clap.
f
Pkg.
signal for other instruments to enter
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

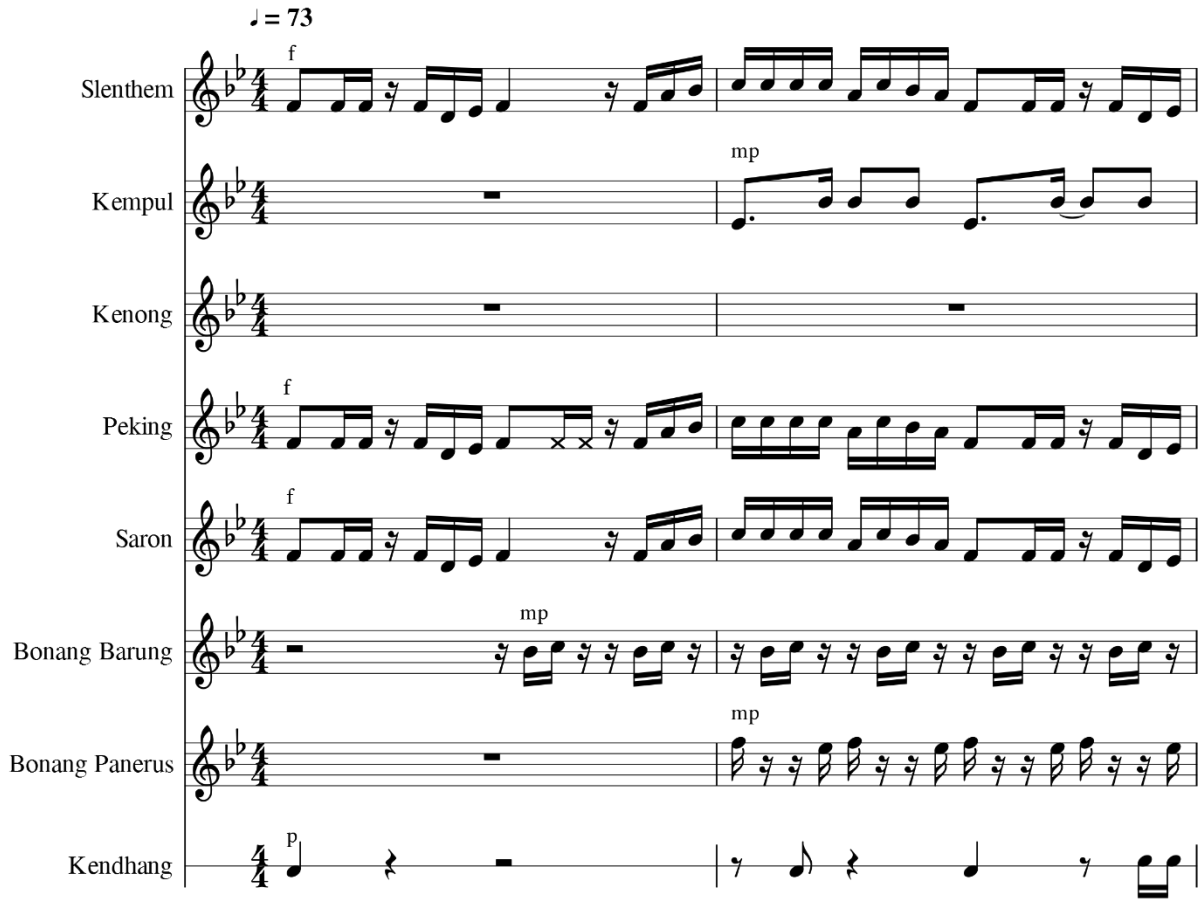

32
mf
Slm.
mp
Kem.
p
Ken.
Vo.
Clap.
f
Pkg.
f
p
Srn.
mf
Bng. Bar.
mf
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

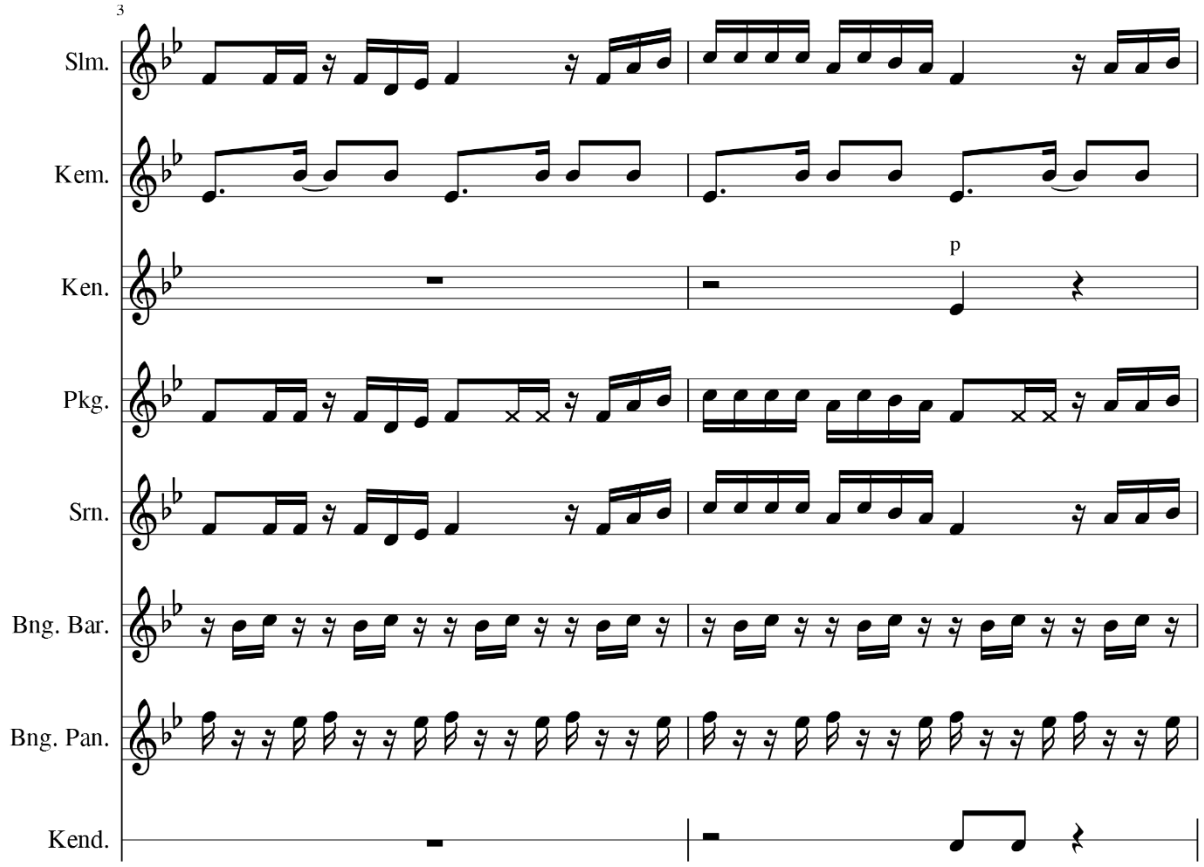

34
Slm.
Kem.
Ken.
Vo.
Clap.
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

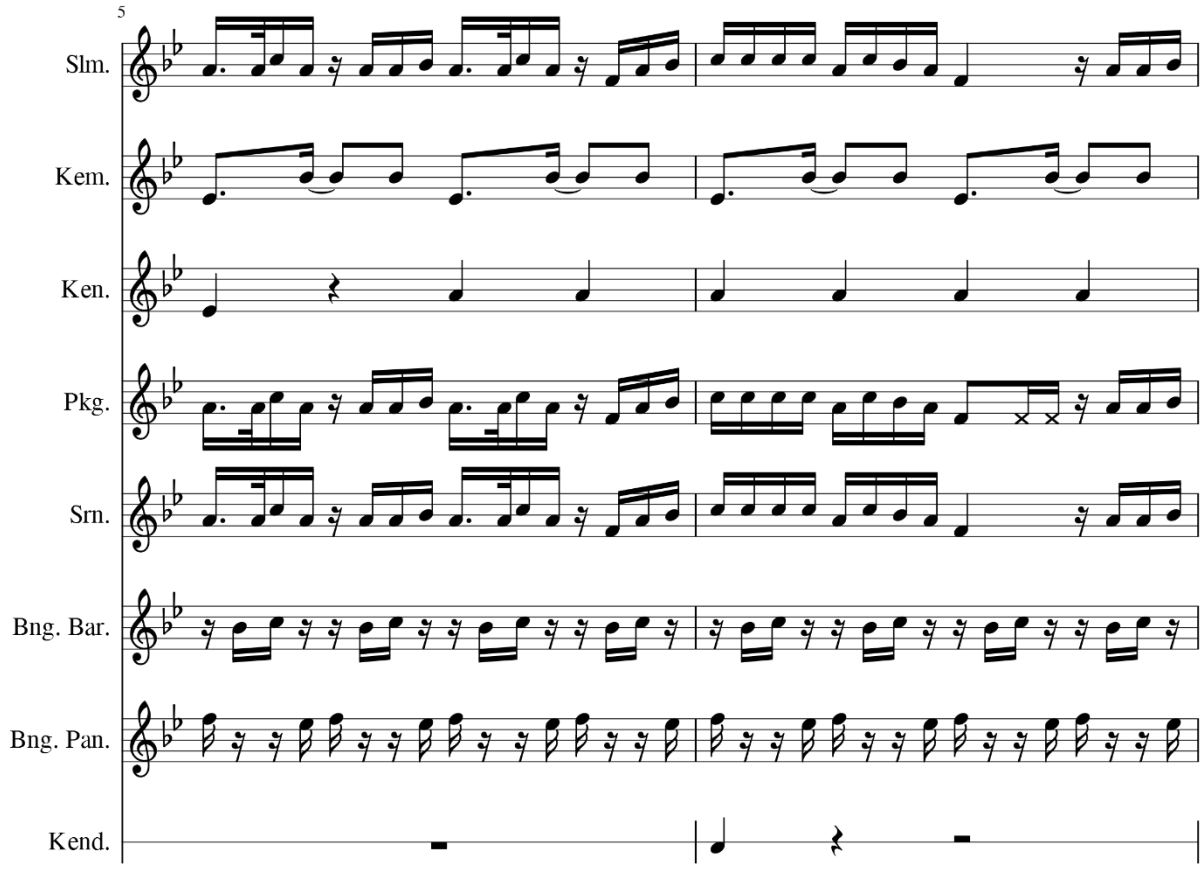

36
Slm.
Kem.
Ken.
Vo.
Clap.
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

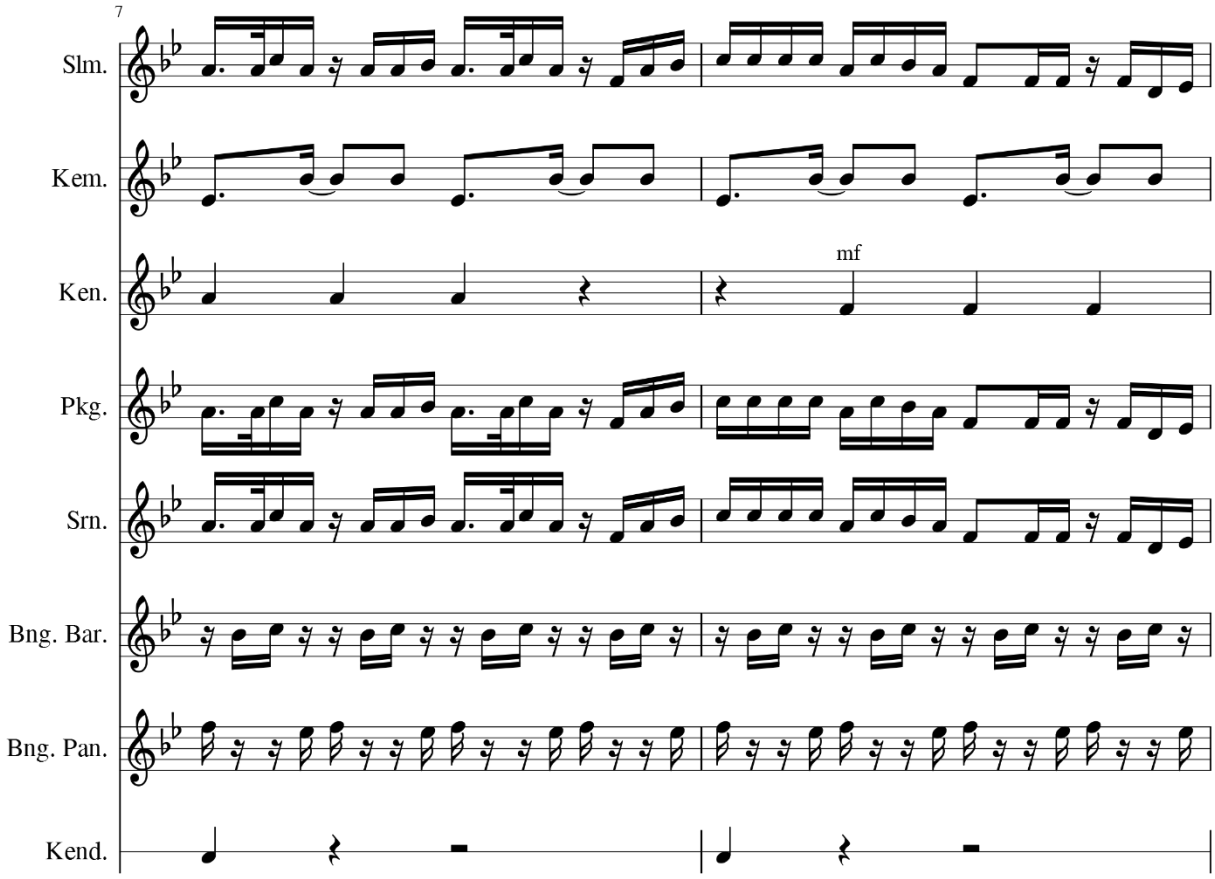

38
♩ = 73
Slowing down to go to "Wong Donya"
Slm.
Kem.
Ken.
Vo.
Clap.
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.
f

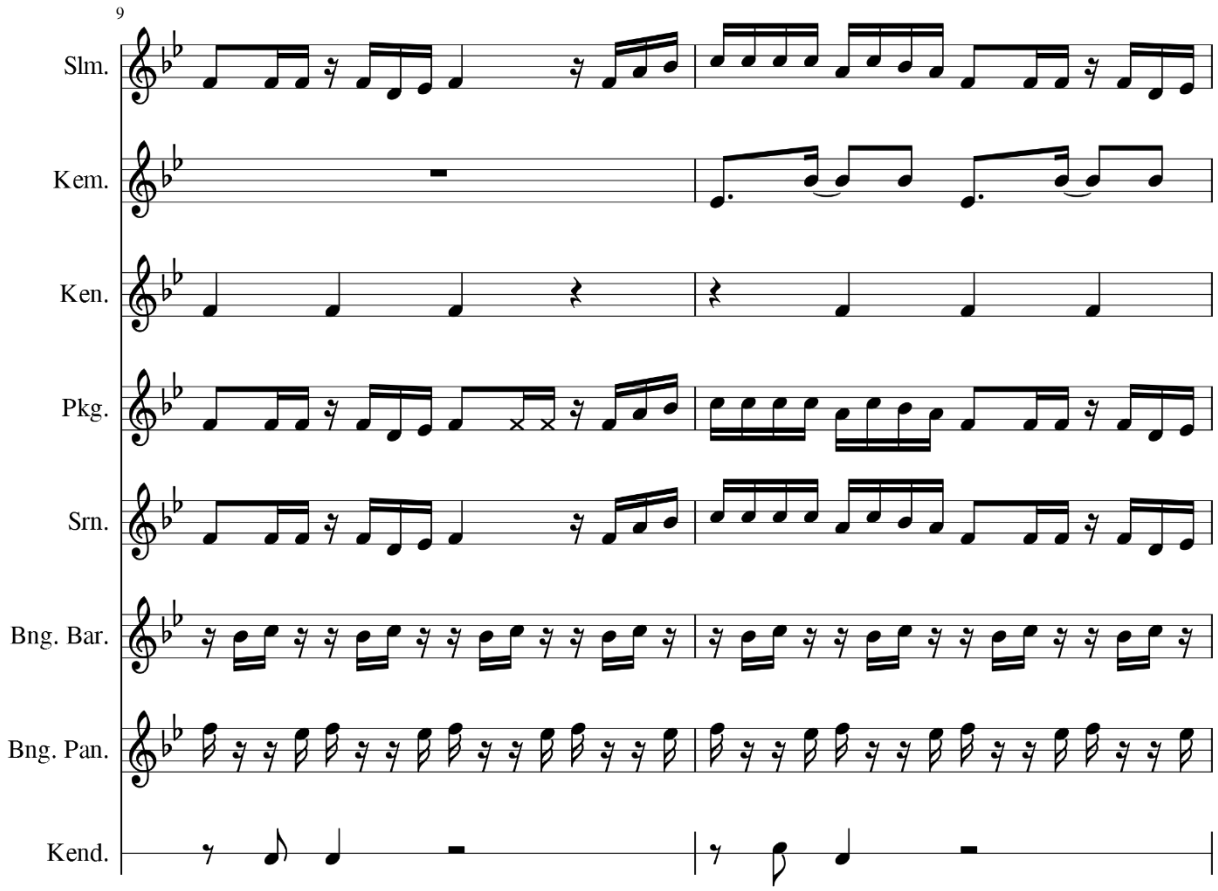
The Lokananta Suite - Wong Donya

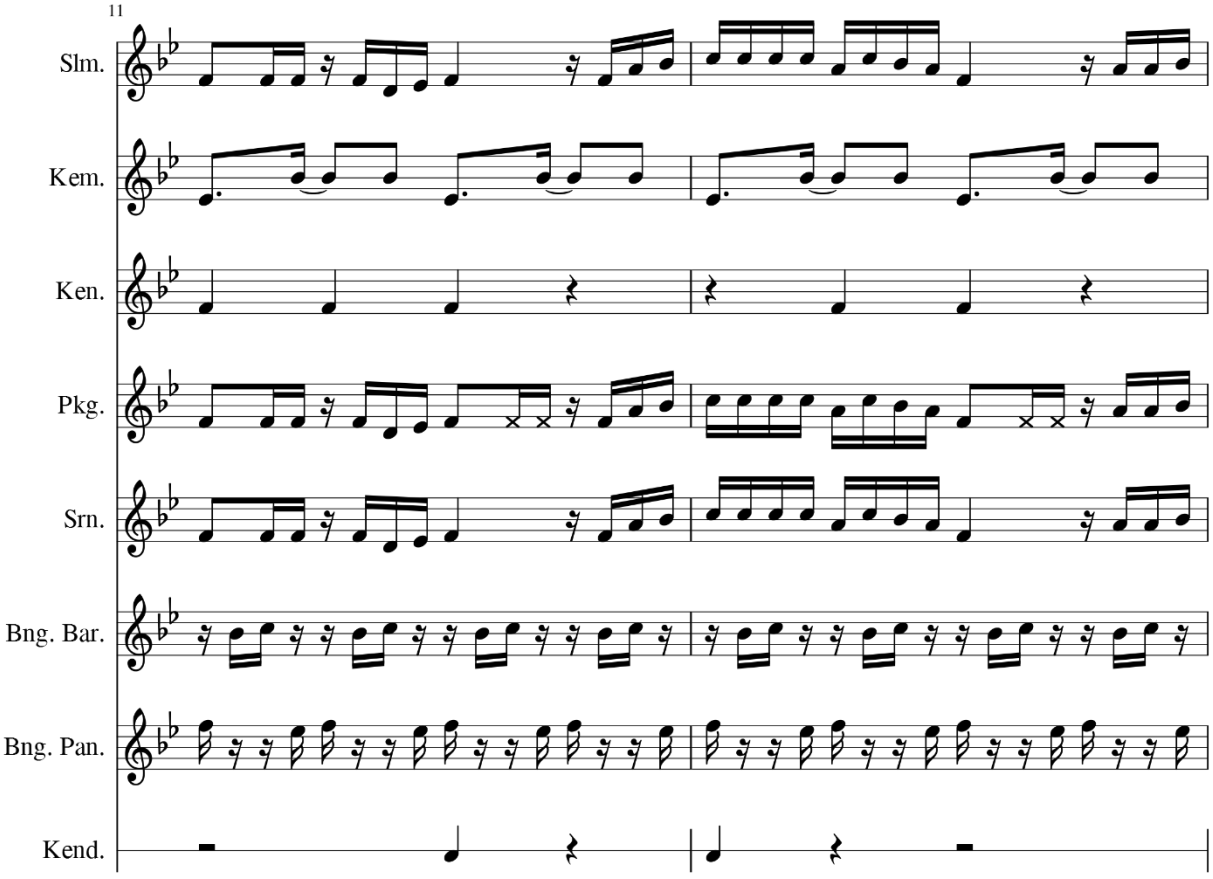


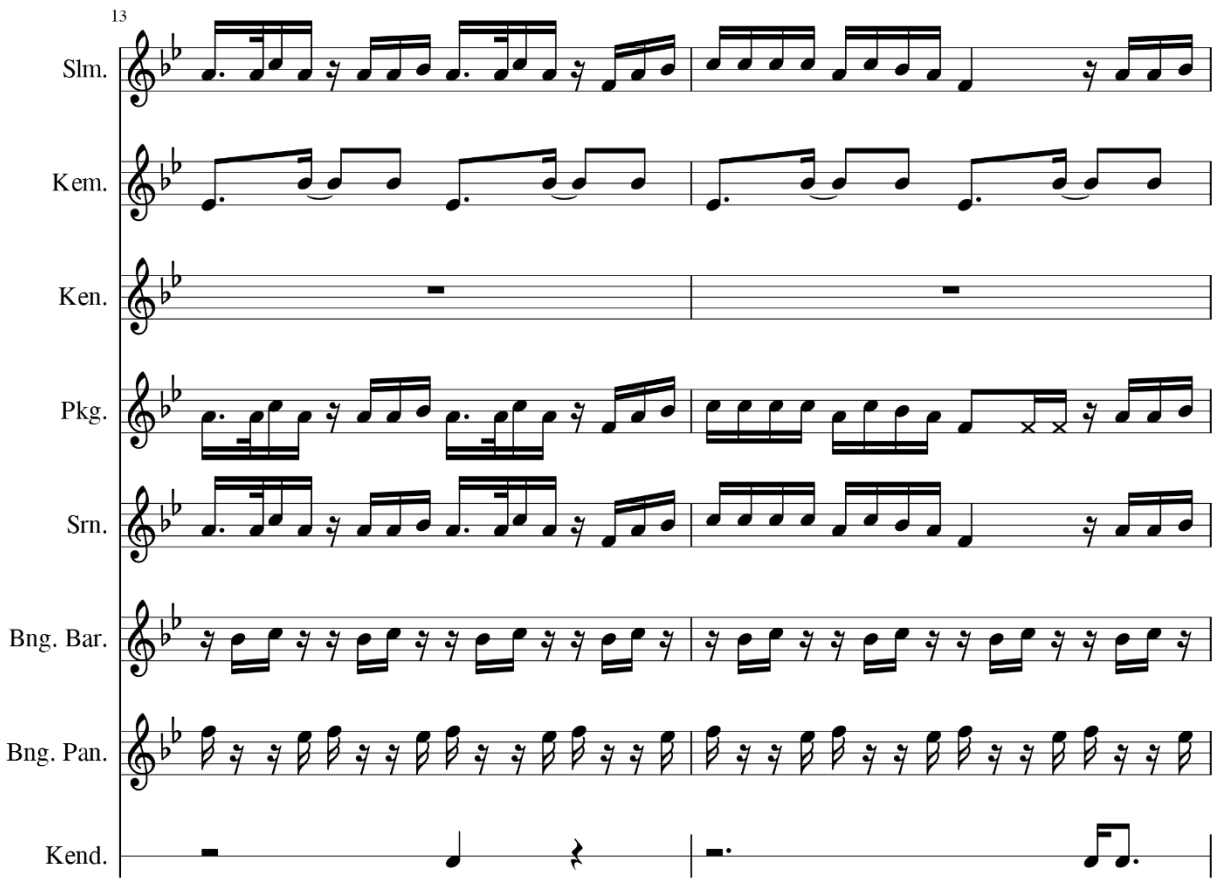

3
Slm.
Kem.
Ken.
p
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

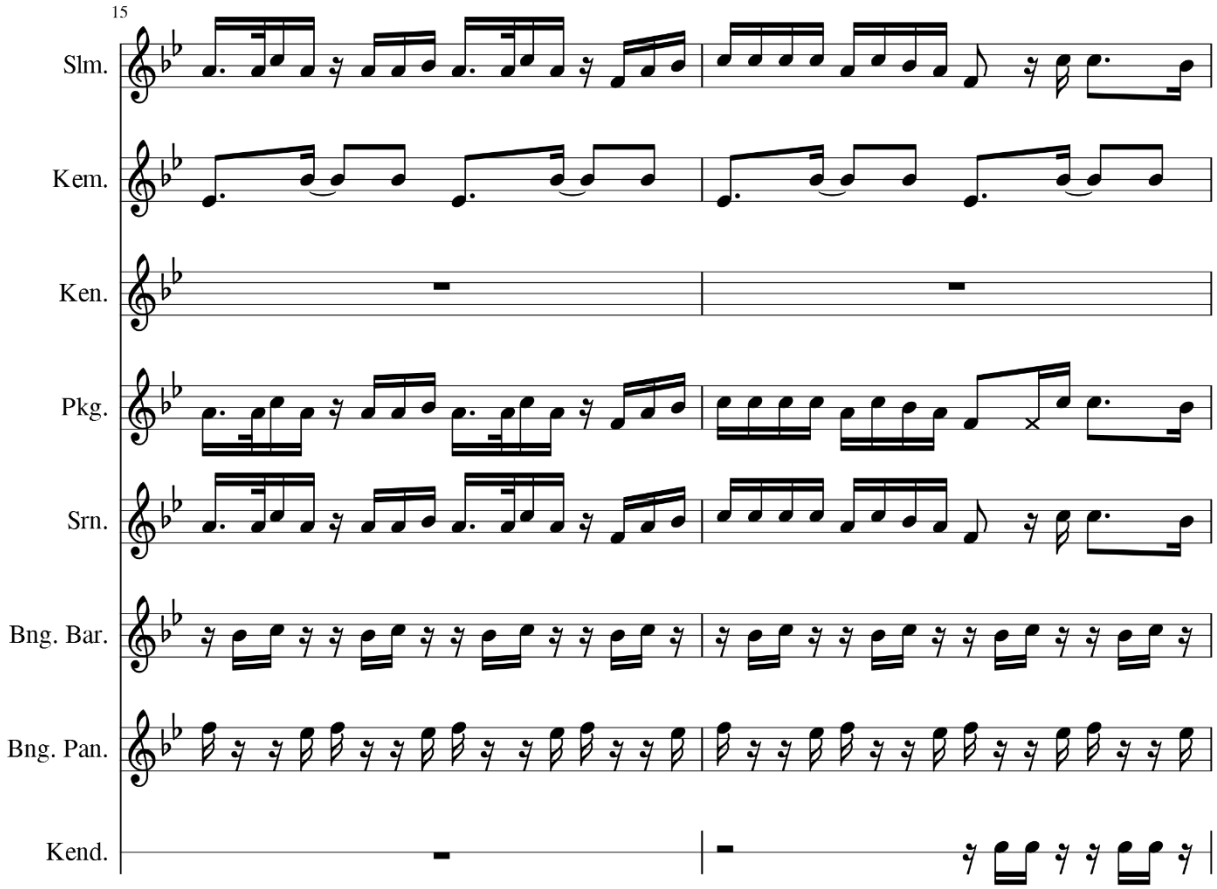

5
Slm.
Kem.
Ken.
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

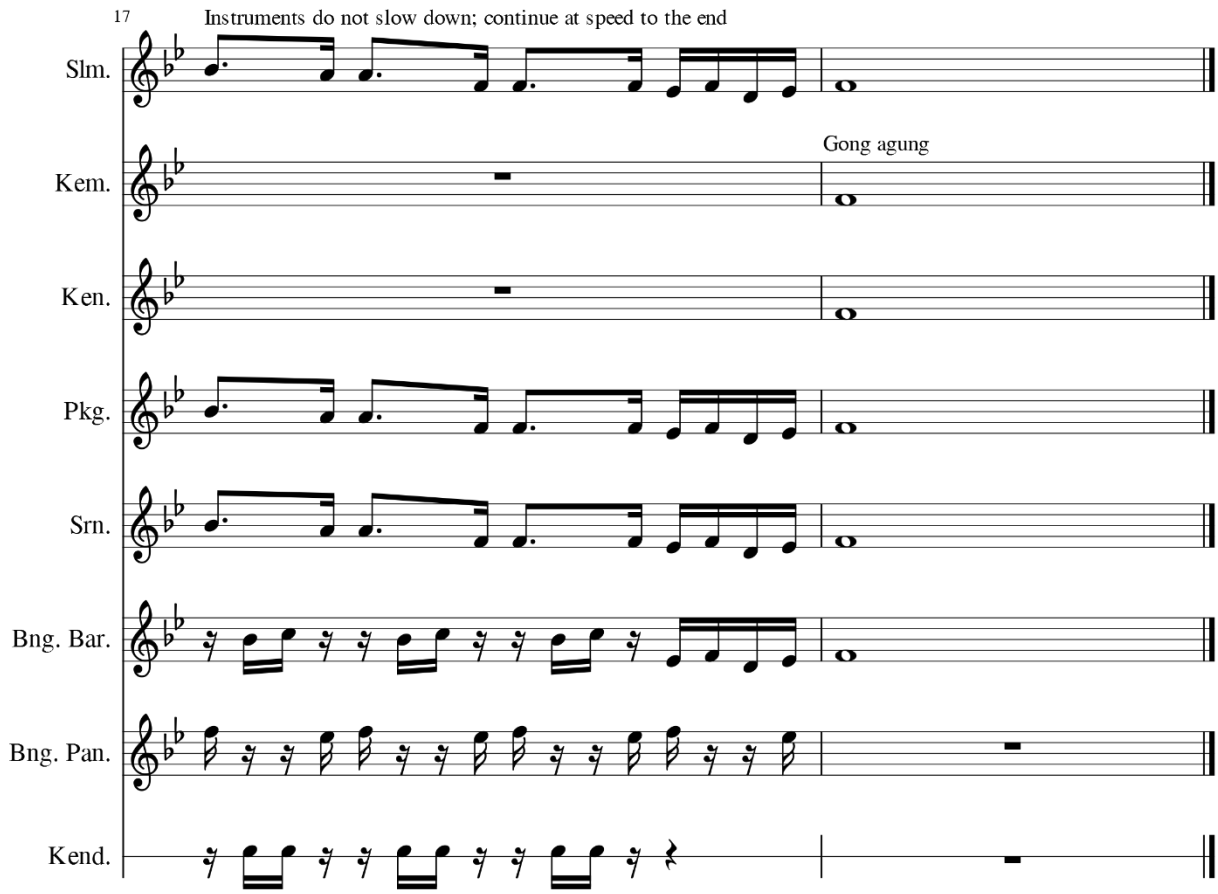

7
Slm.
Kem.
Ken.
mf
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

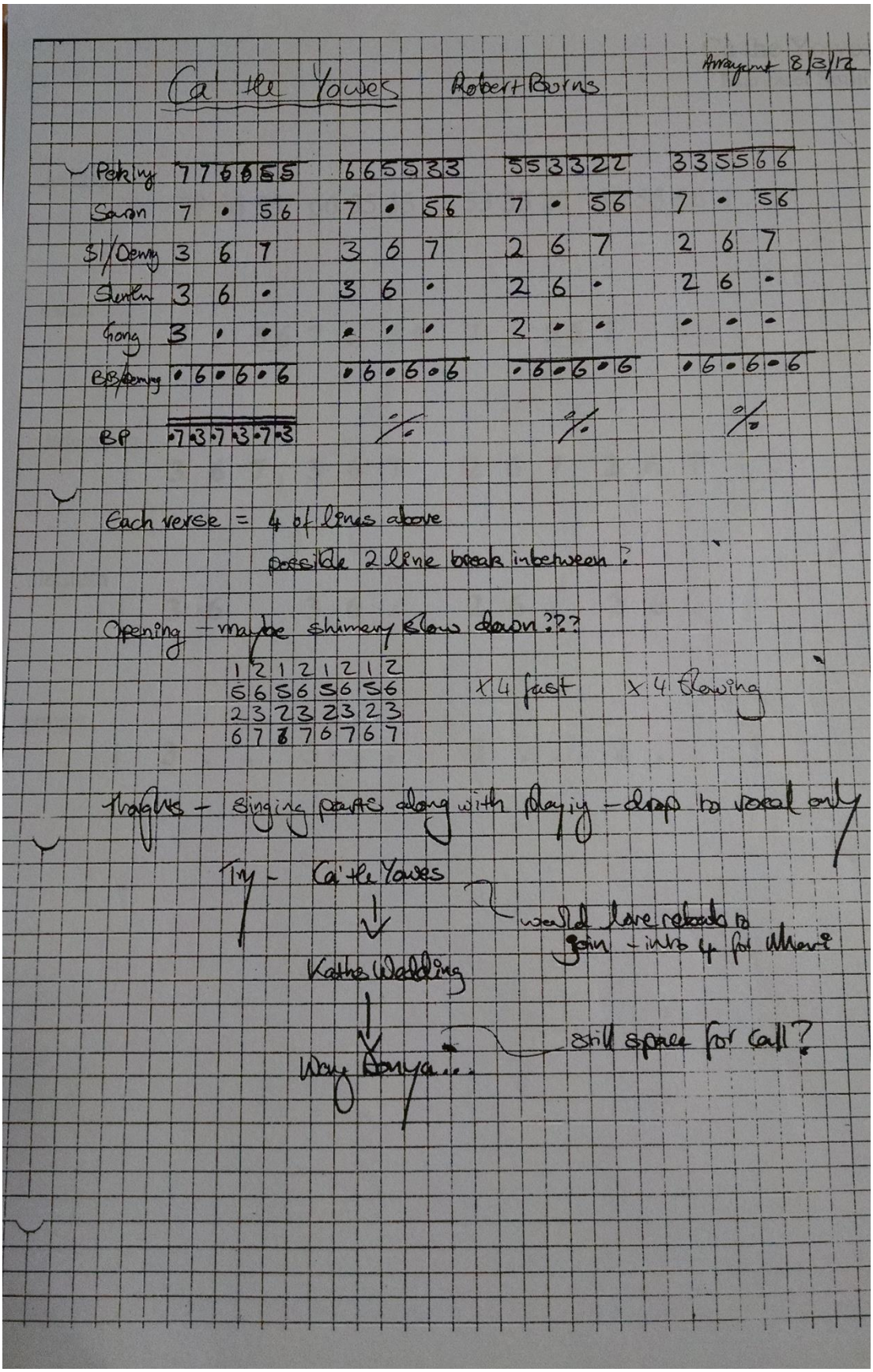

9
Slm.
Kem.
Ken.
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.


11
Slm.
Kem.
Ken.
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

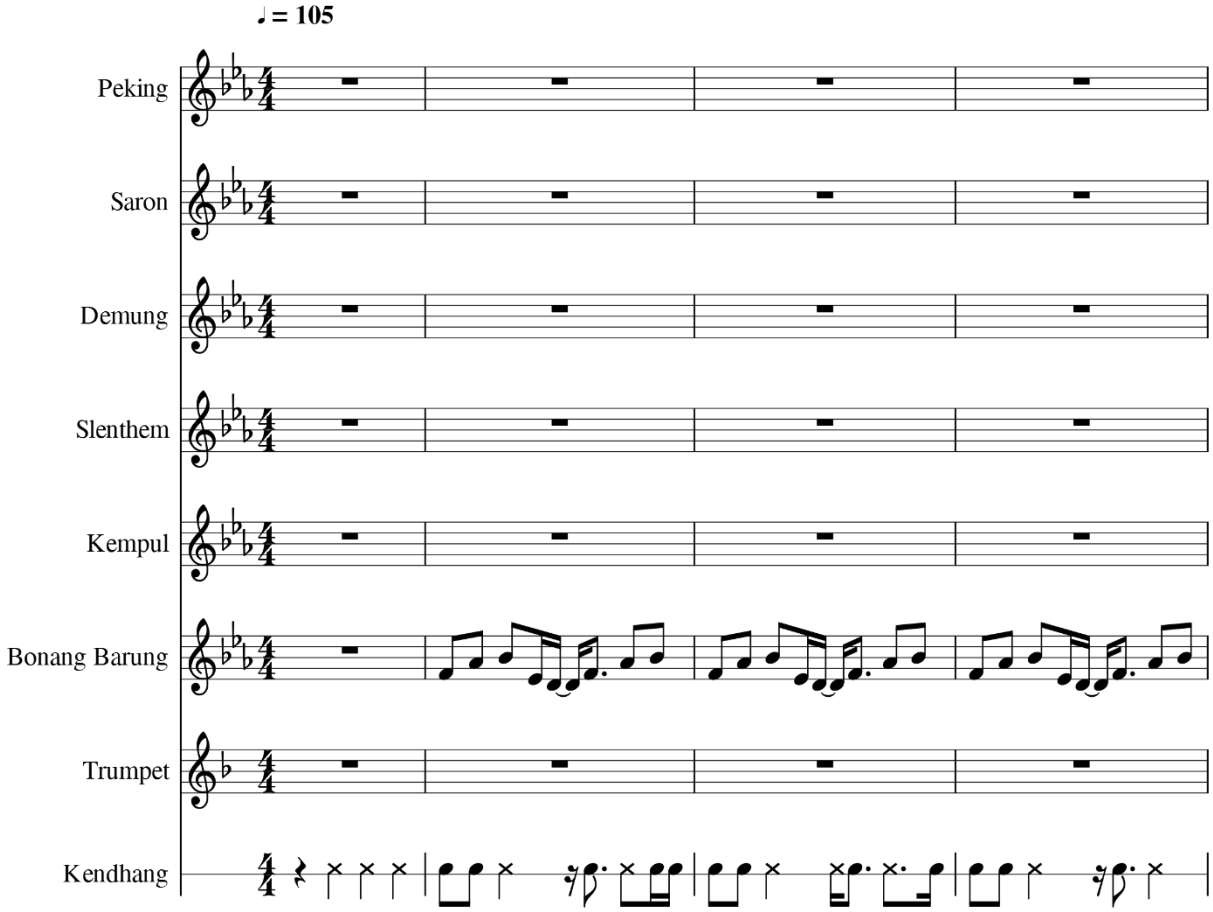

13
Slm.
Kem.
Ken.
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

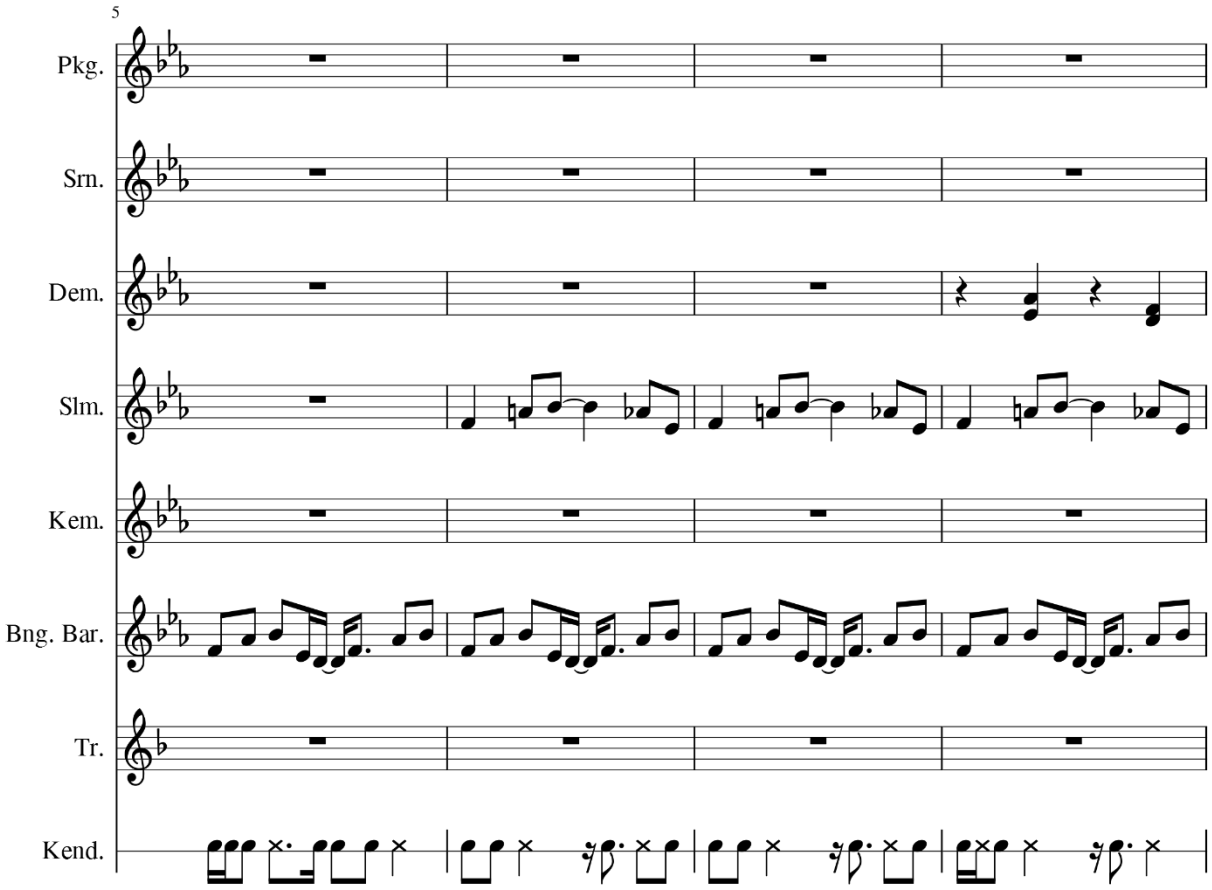

15
Slm.
Kem.
Ken.
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.

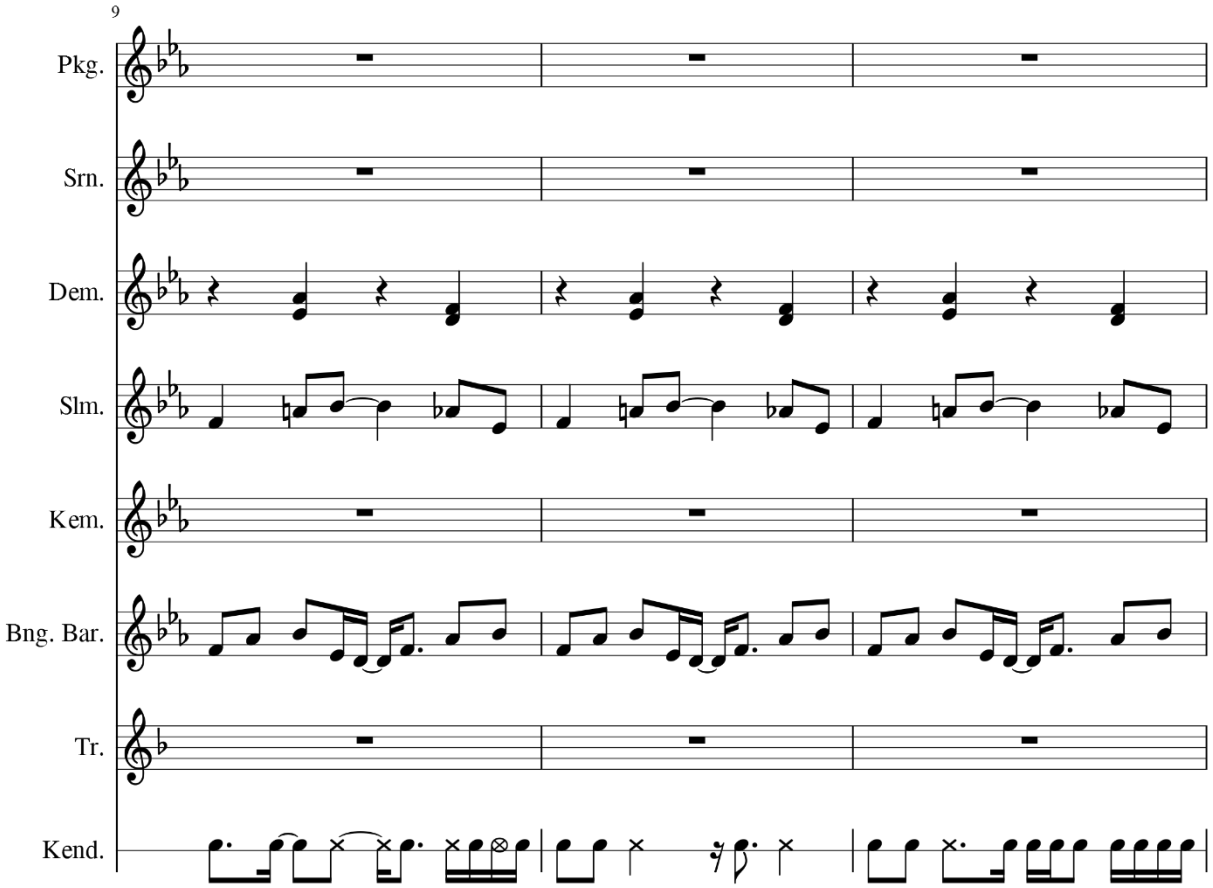

17
Instruments do not slow down; continue at speed to the end
Slm.
Kem.
Gong agung
Ken.
Pkg.
Srn.
Bng. Bar.
Bng. Pan.
Kend.


Ca' the Yowes Robert Burns
Arrangmt 8/3/12
Perking 7 7 6 6 5 5 | 6 6 5 5 3 3 | 5 5 3 3 2 2 | 3 3 5 5 6 6
Saxon 7 • 5 6 | 7 • 5 6 | 7 • 5 6 | 7 • 5 6
S1/Denny 3 6 7 | 3 6 7 | 2 6 7 | 2 6 7
Sunlin 3 6 • | 3 6 • | 2 6 • | 2 6 •
Gong 3 • • | • • • | 2 • • | • • •
BB/Denny • 6 • 6 • 6 | • 6 • 6 • 6 | • 6 • 6 • 6 | • 6 • 6 • 6
BP • 7 • 3 • 7 • 3 • 7 • 3
Each verse = 4 of lines above
possible 2 line break inbetween?
Opening - maybe shimery slow down?!?
1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2
6 6 5 6 5 6 5 6
2 3 2 3 2 3 2 3
6 7 6 7 6 7 6 7
x4 fast x4 flowing
Thoughts - Singing parts along with playing - drop to vocal only
Try - Ca' the Yowes
would love rebeats to join - intro 4 for Mum?
Katies Wedding
Way Downya...
still space for call?

Gamelunk - Full




5
Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.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Dem.
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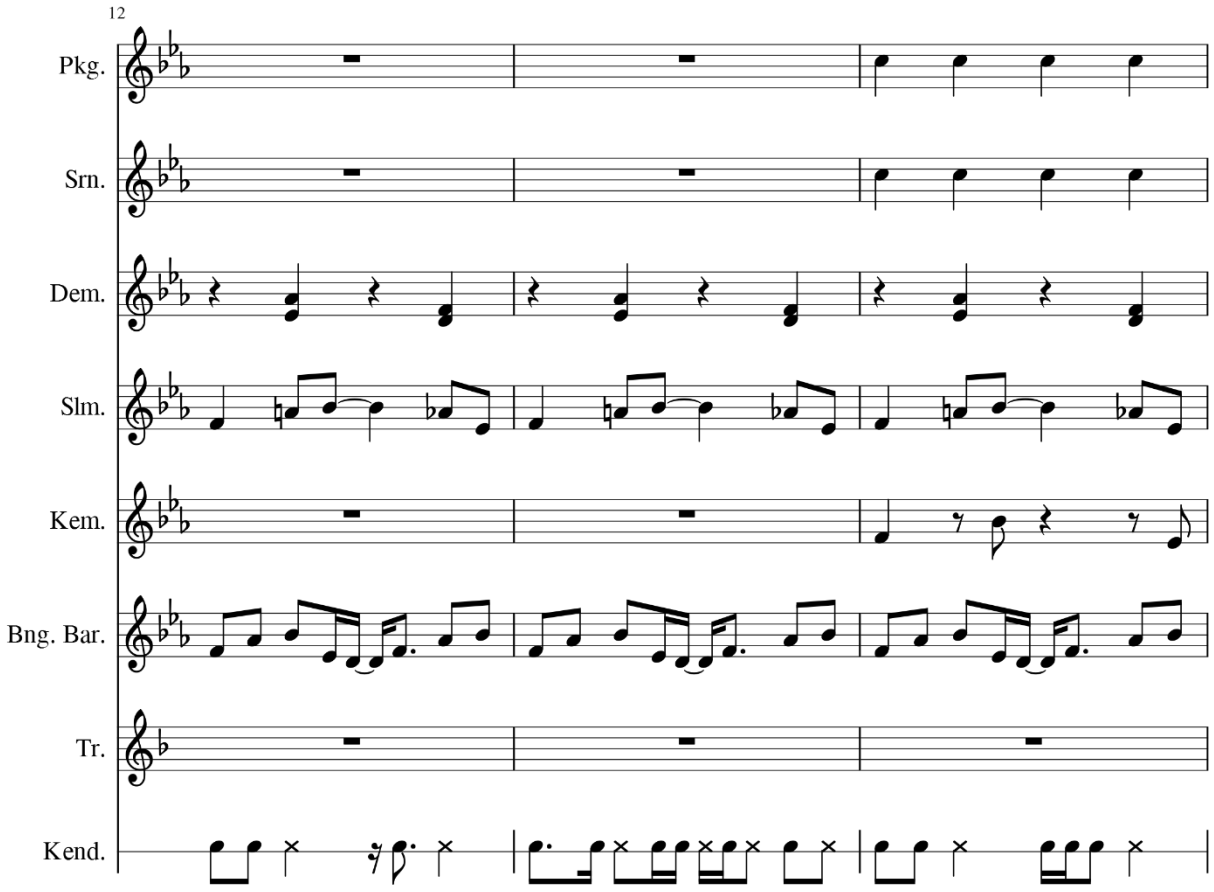
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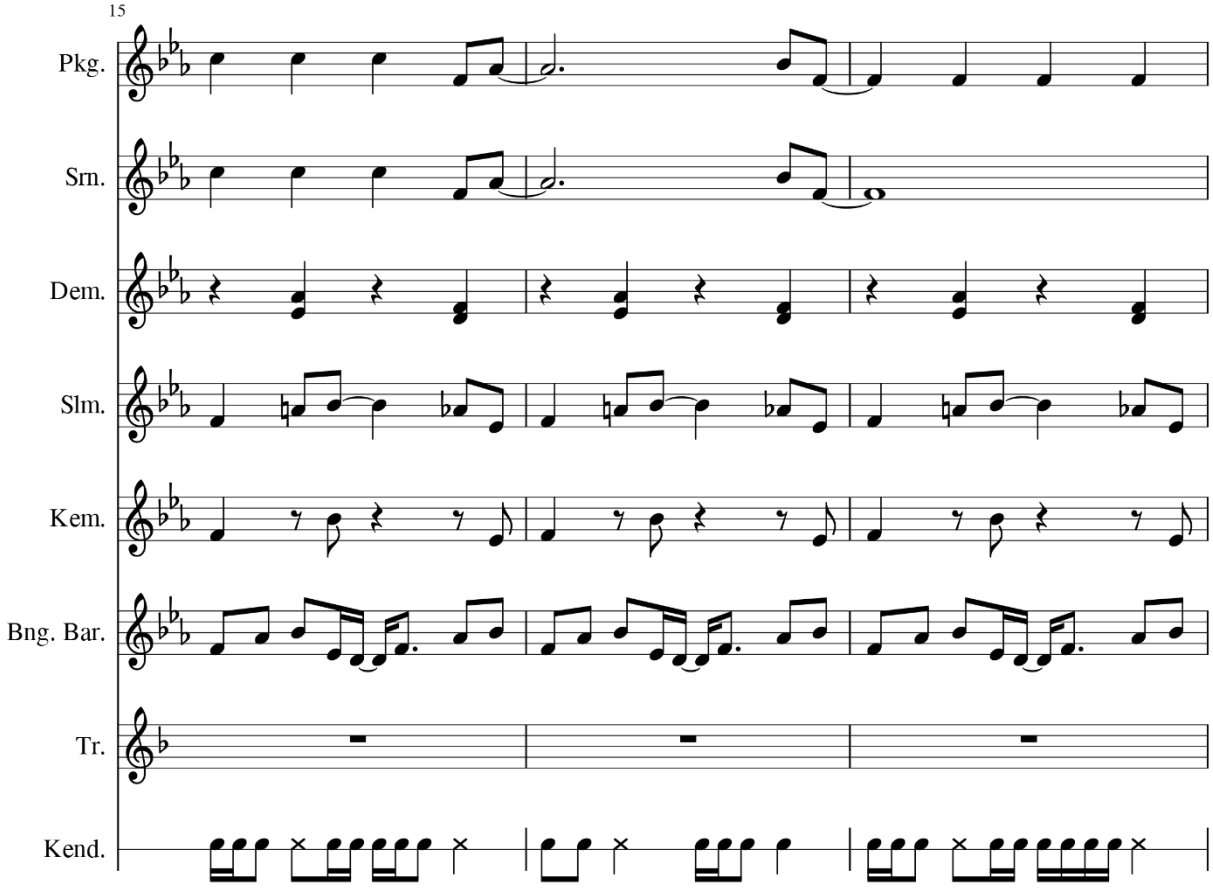
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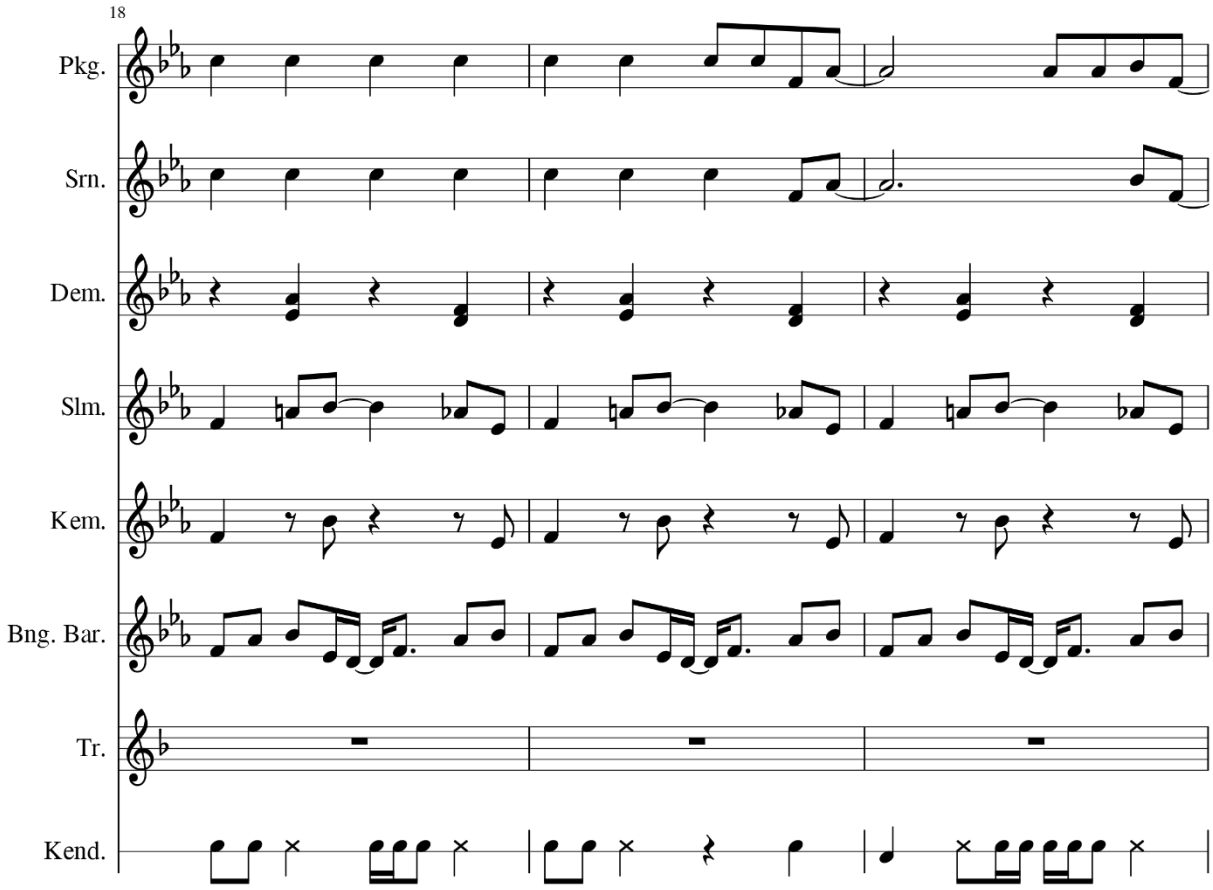
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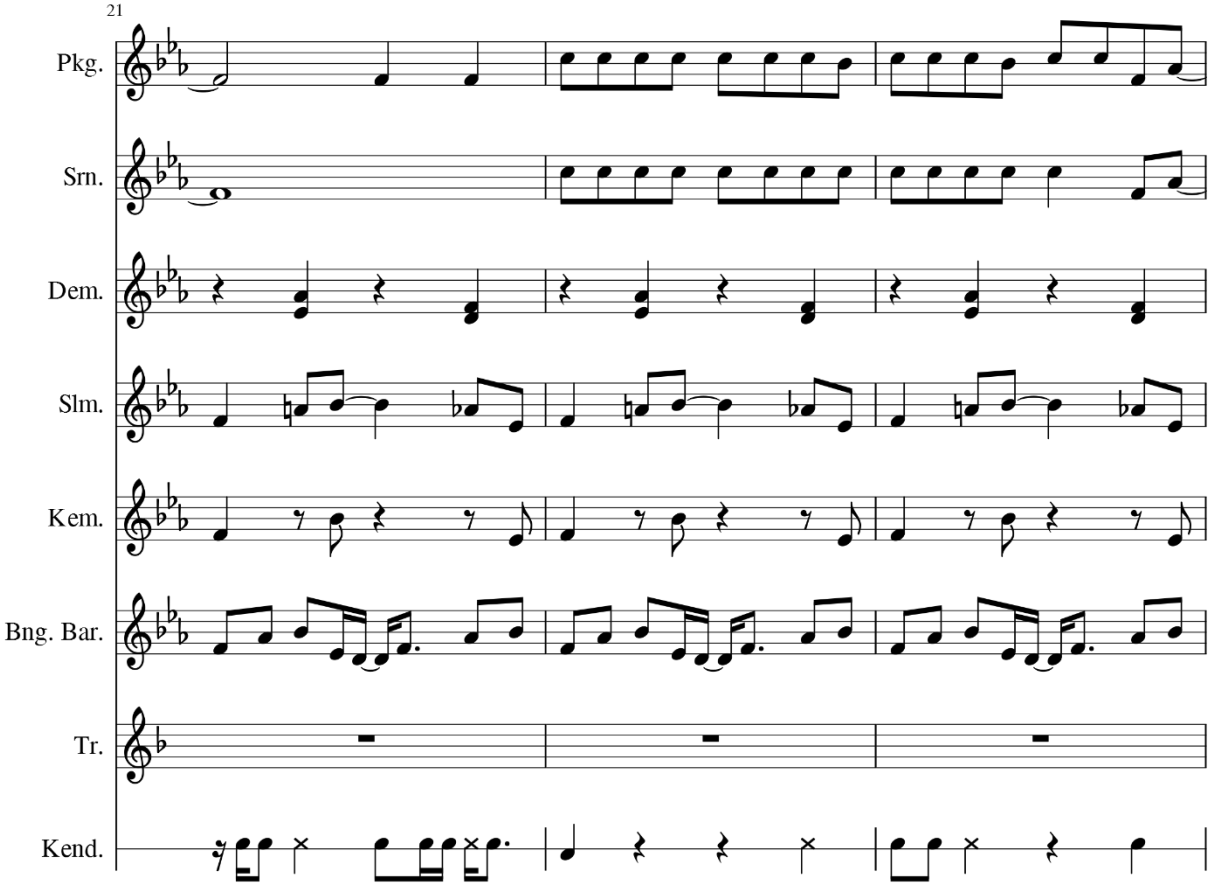
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.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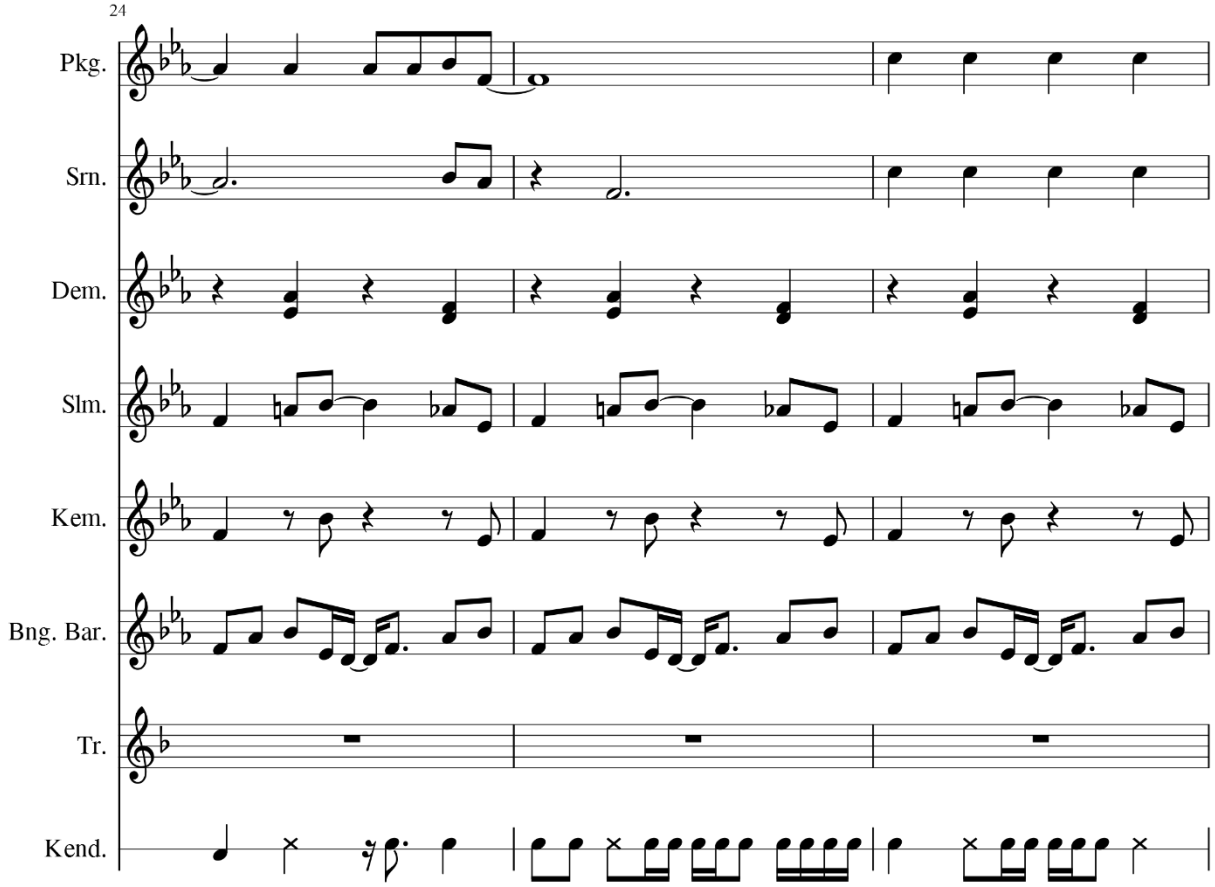
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.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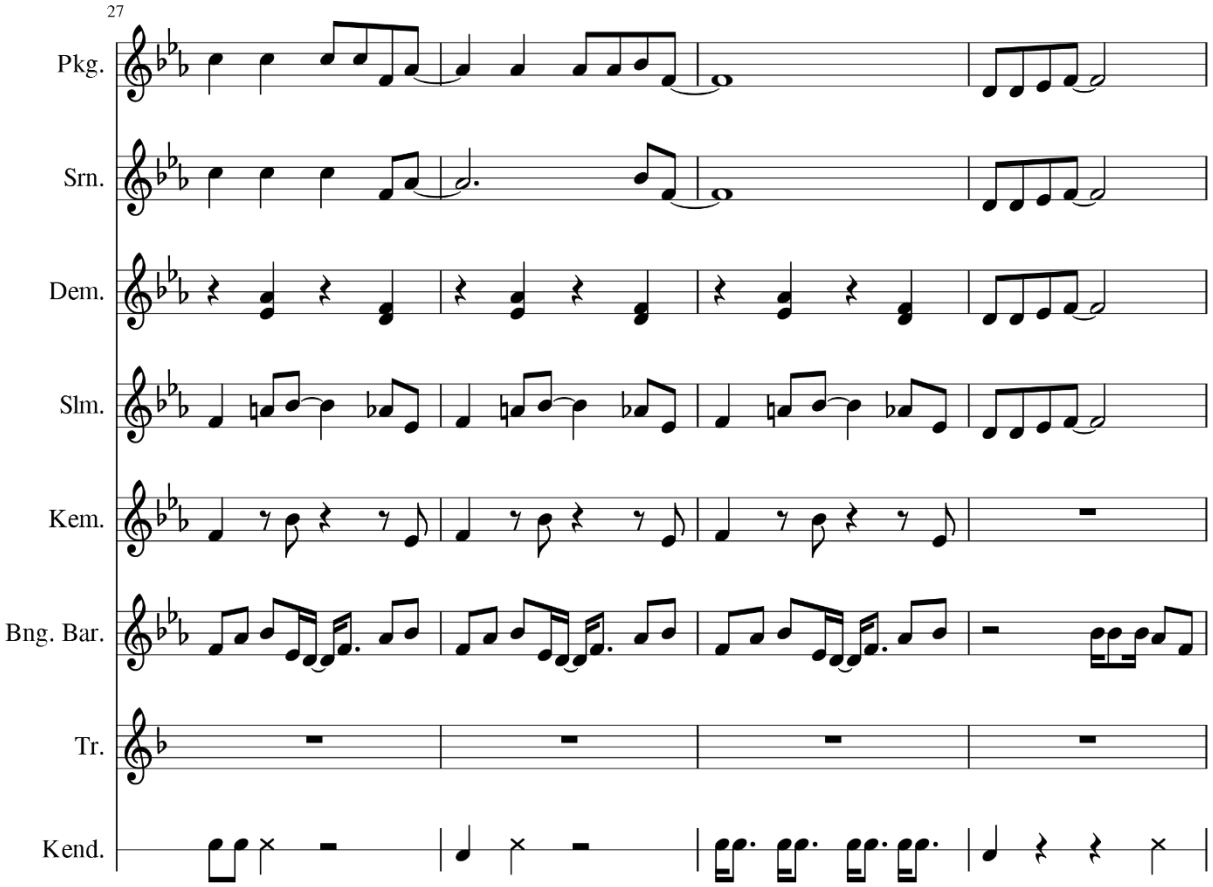
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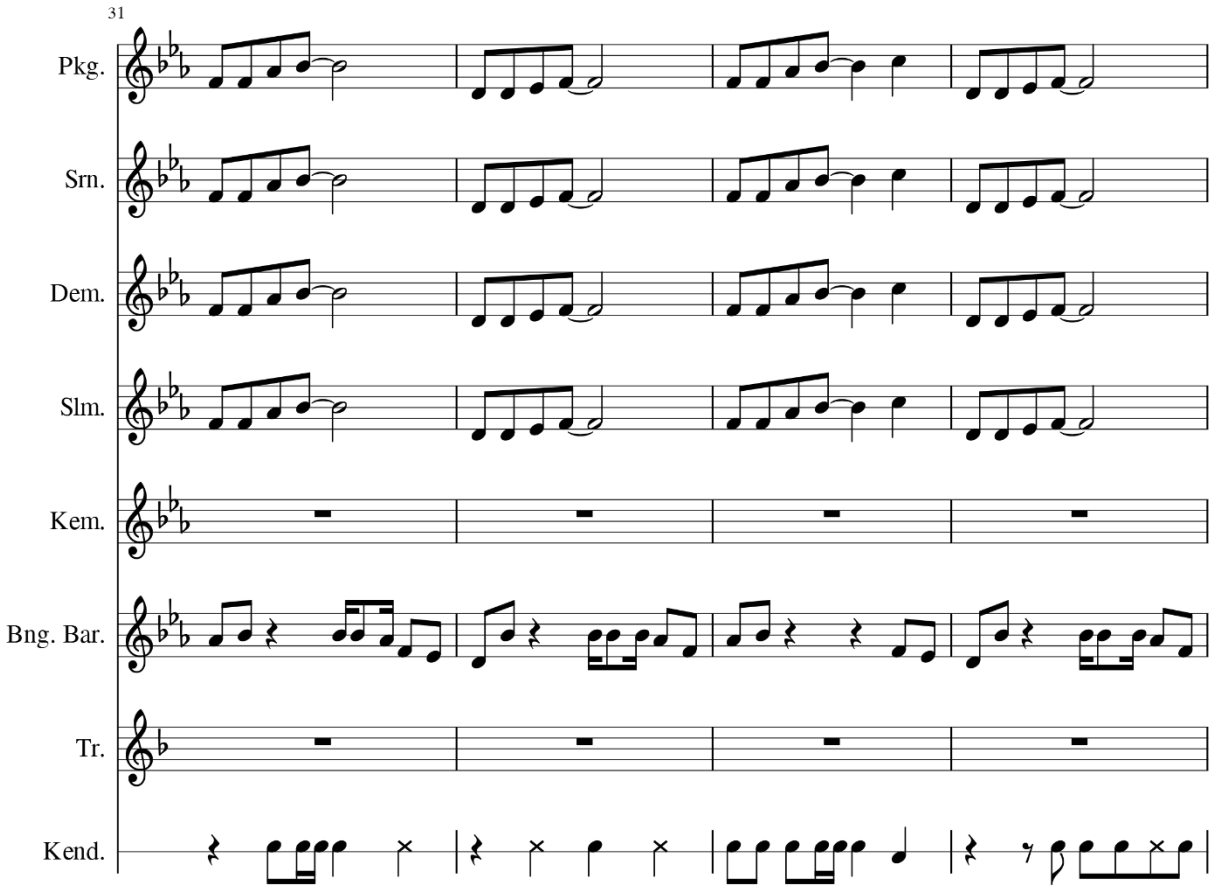
Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.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Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
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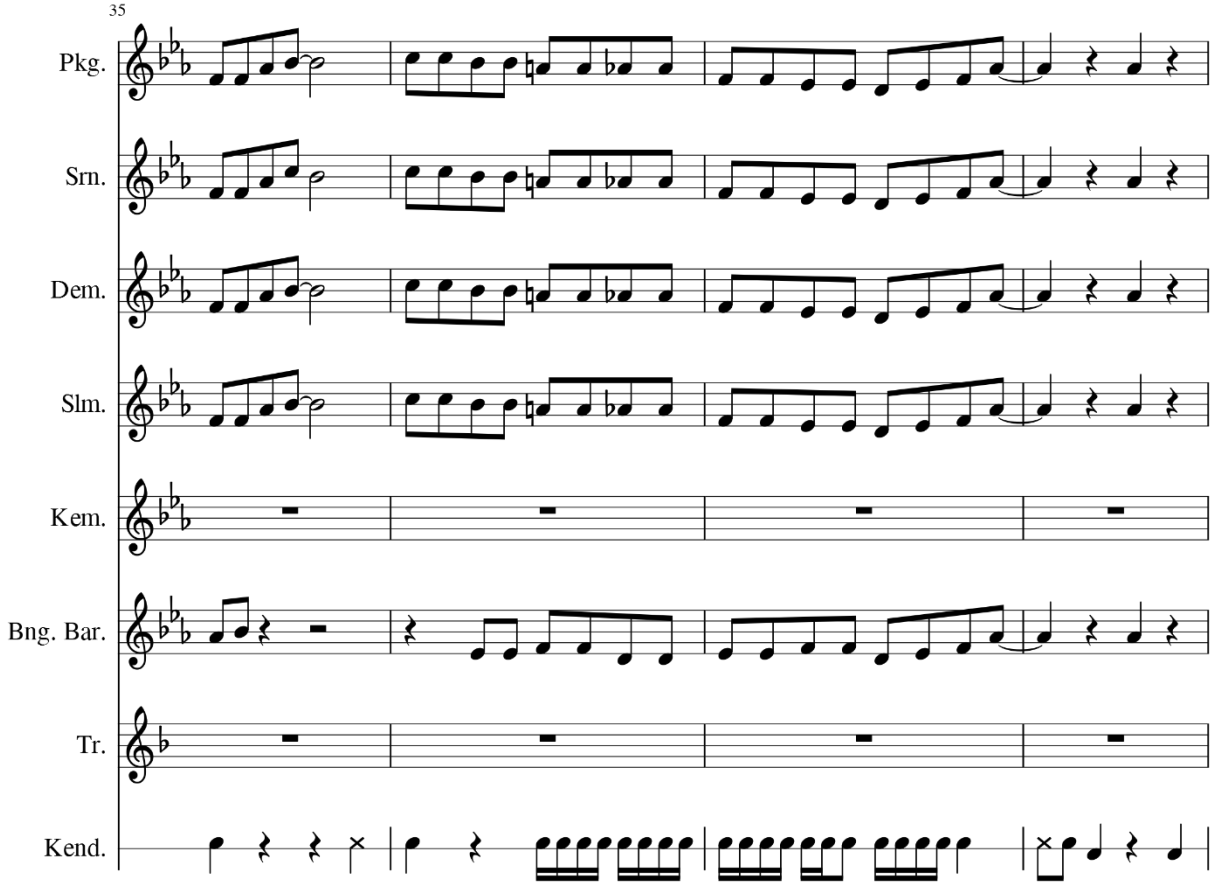
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.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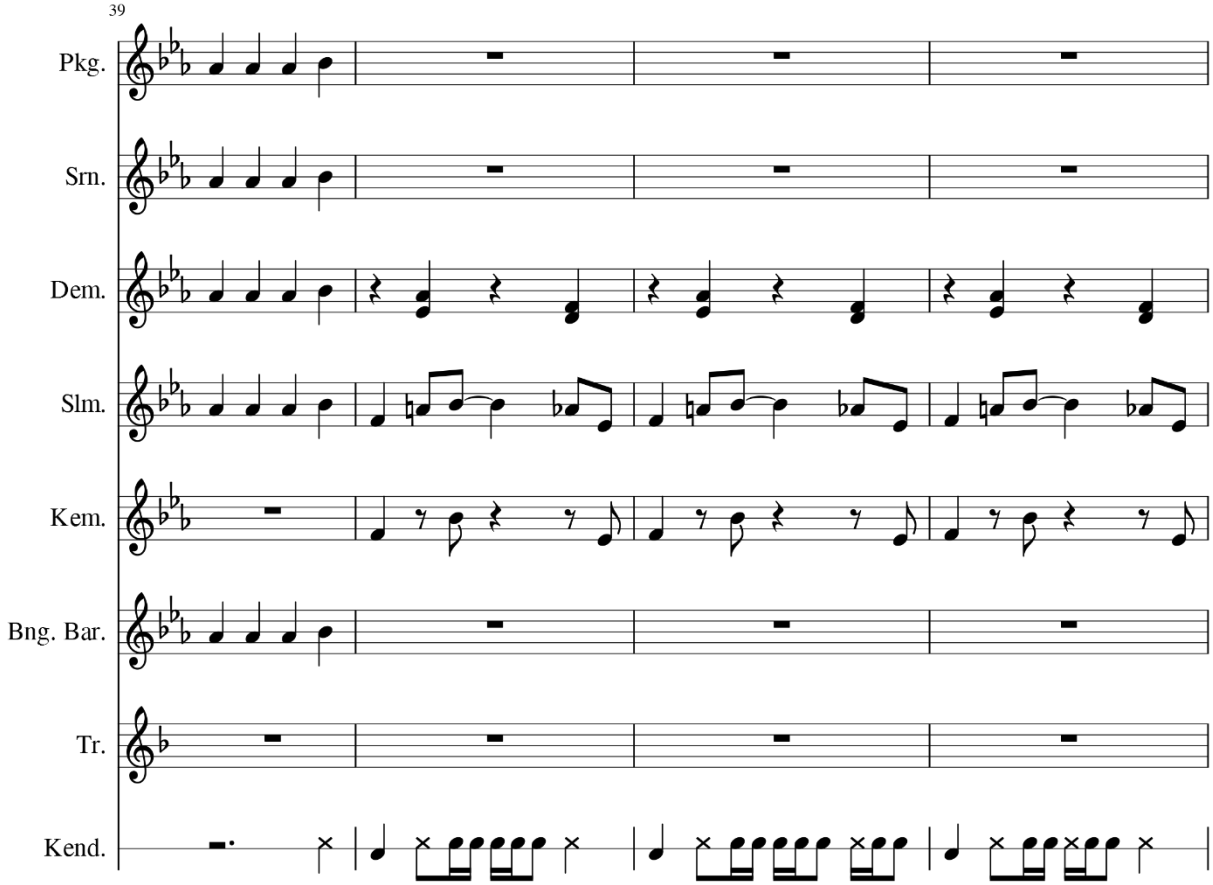
Srn.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.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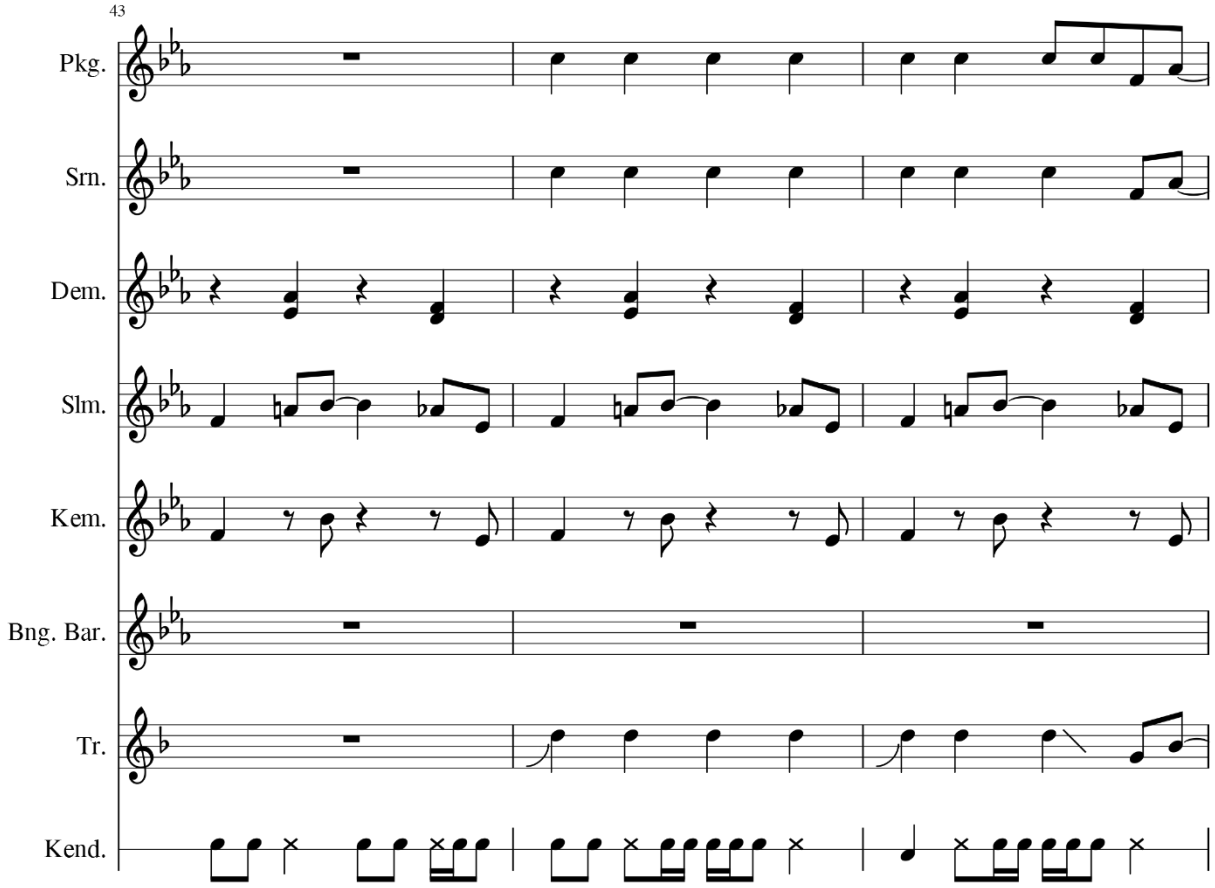
Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.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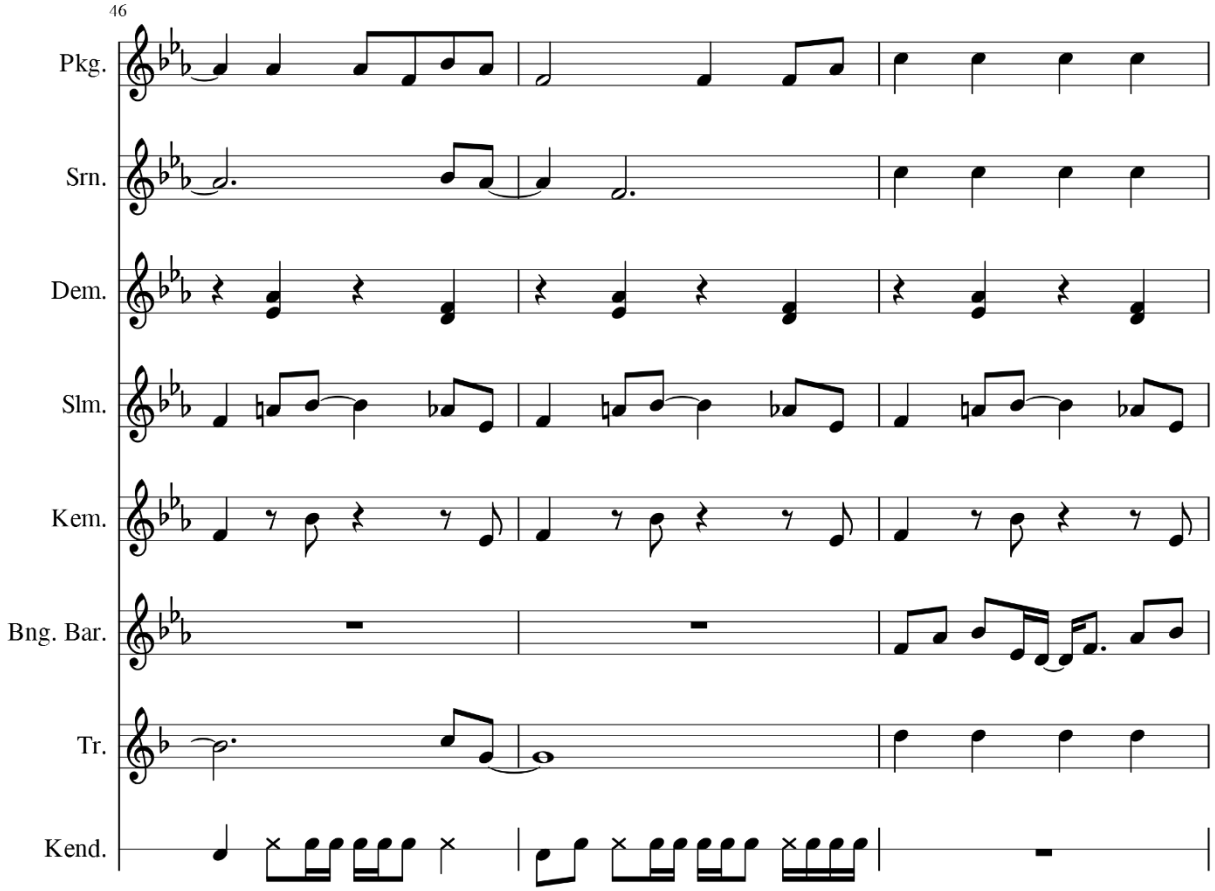
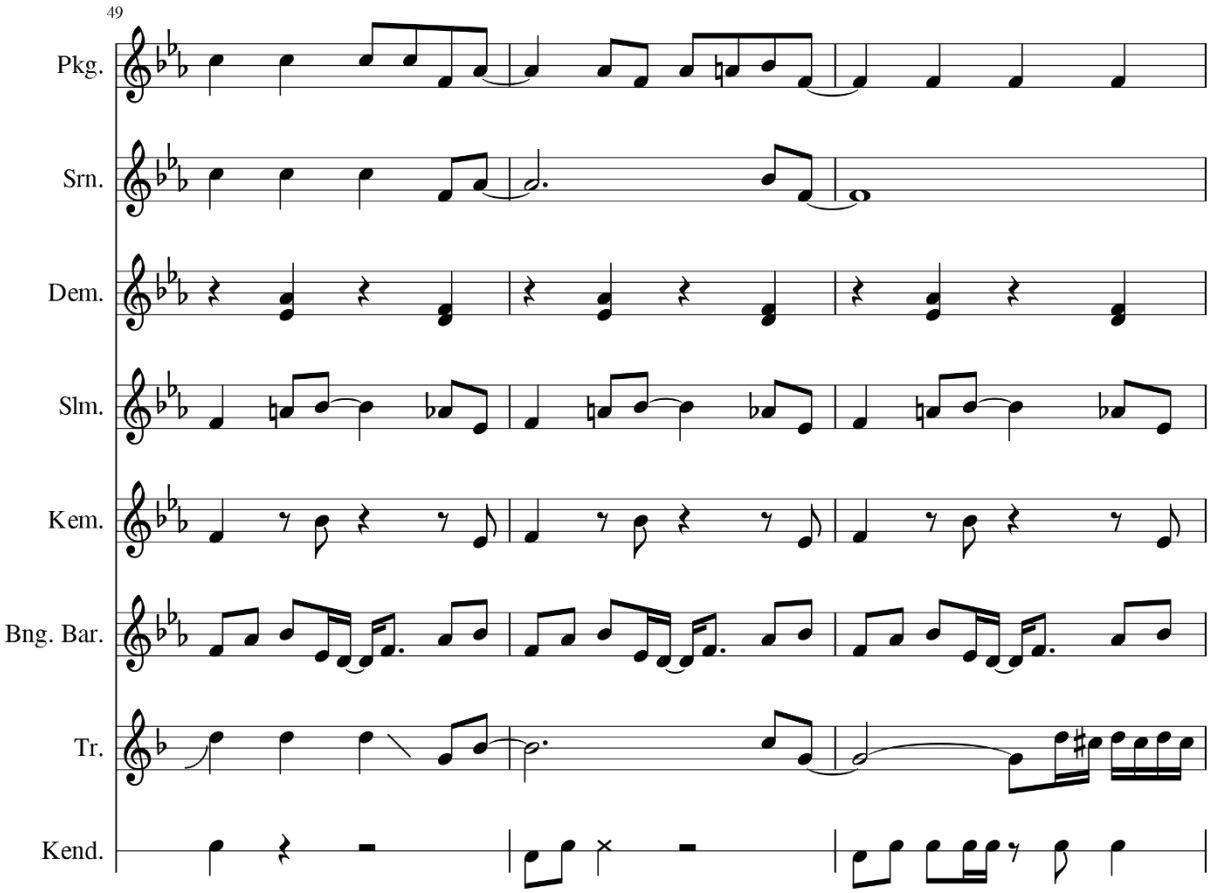
Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.


46
Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.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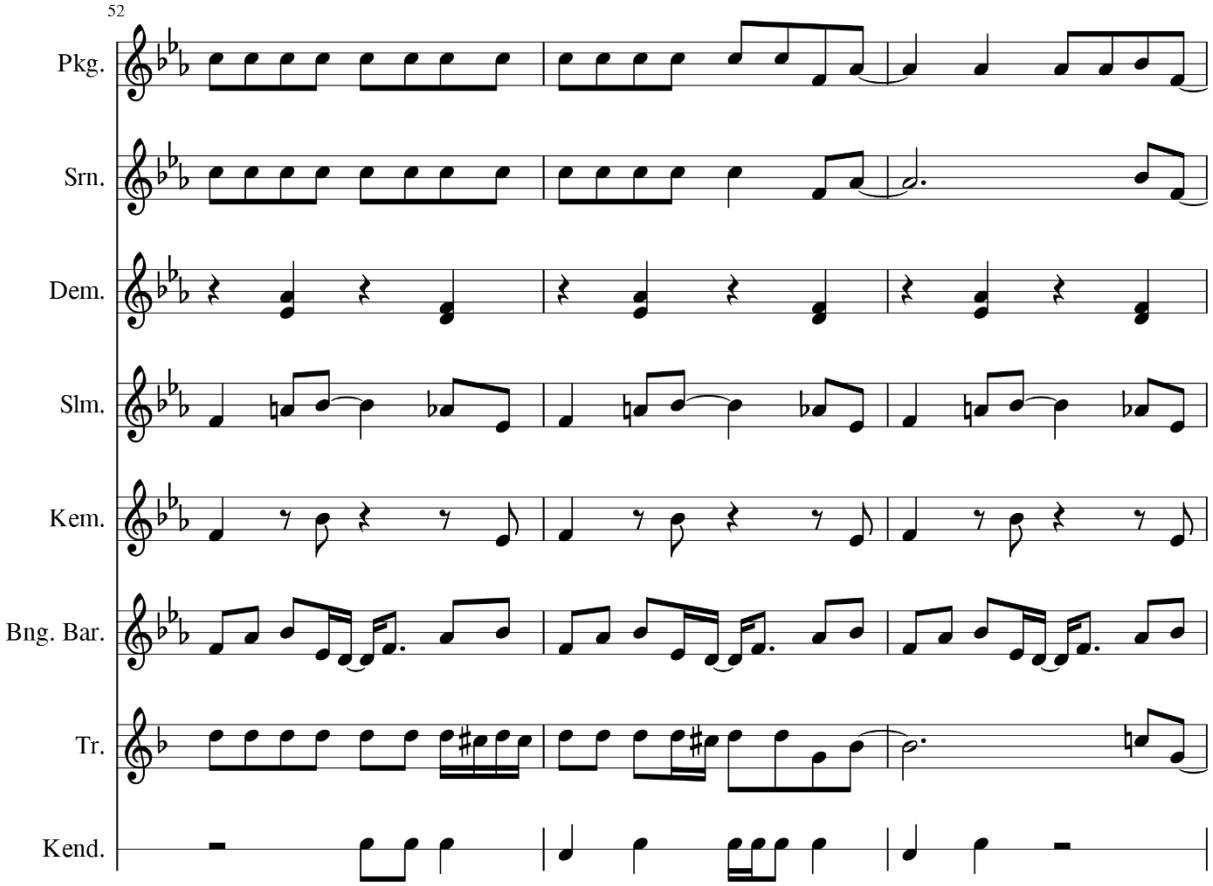
Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.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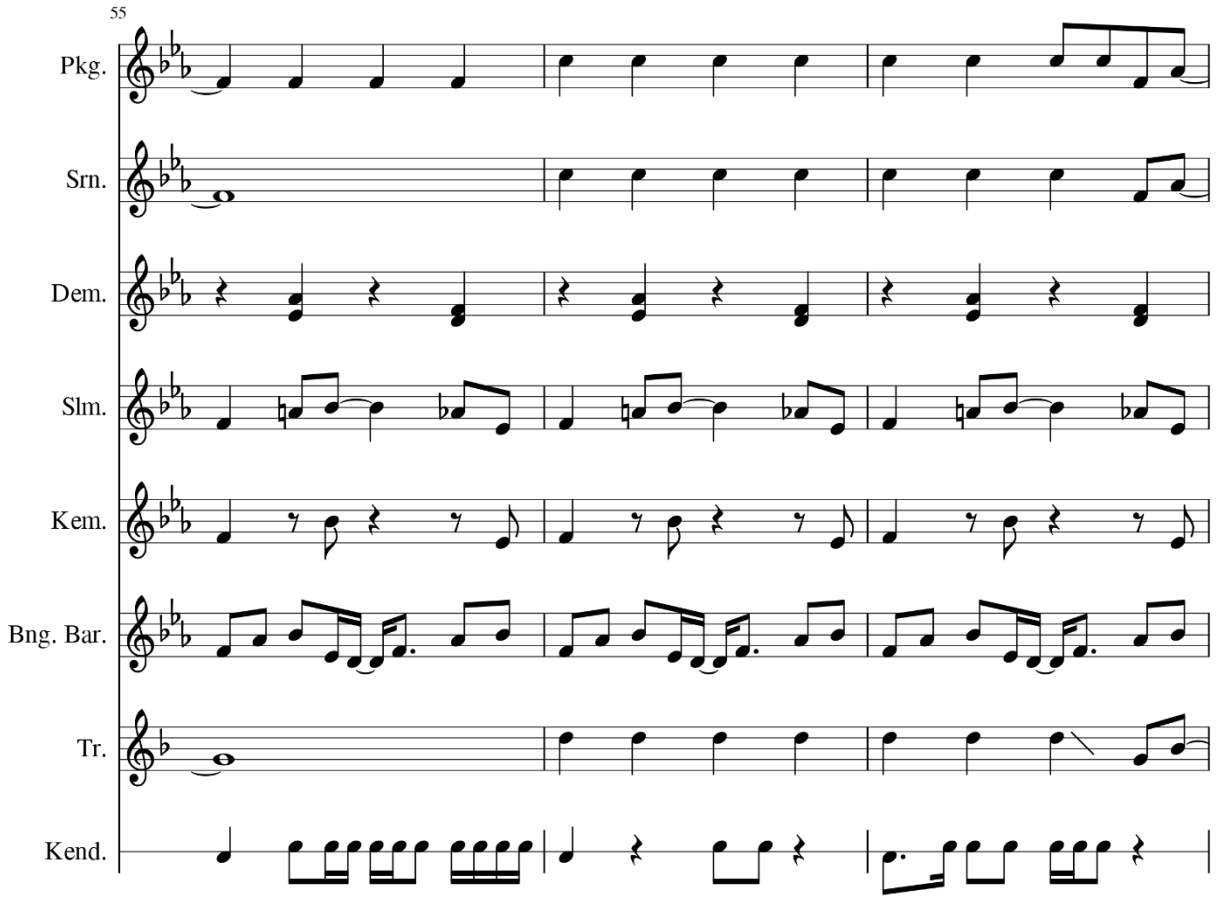
Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.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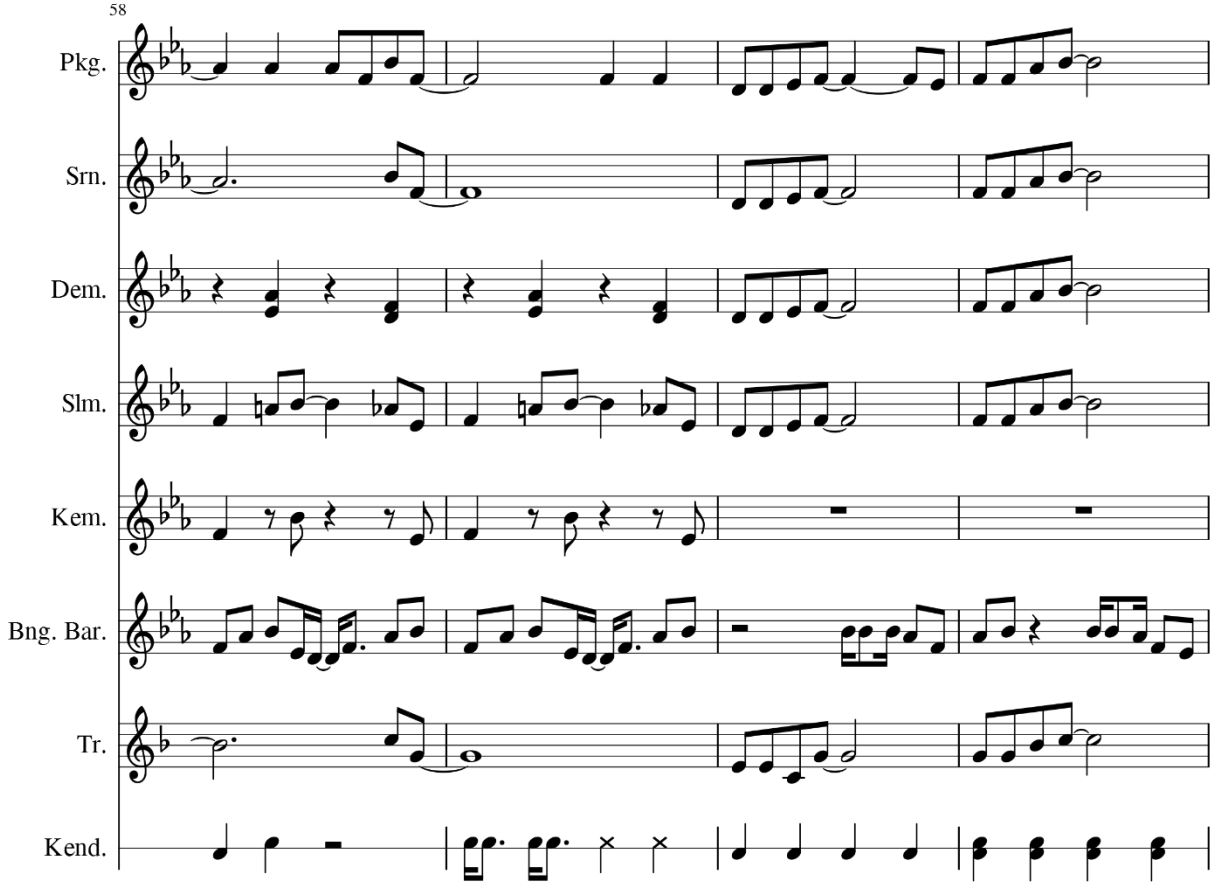
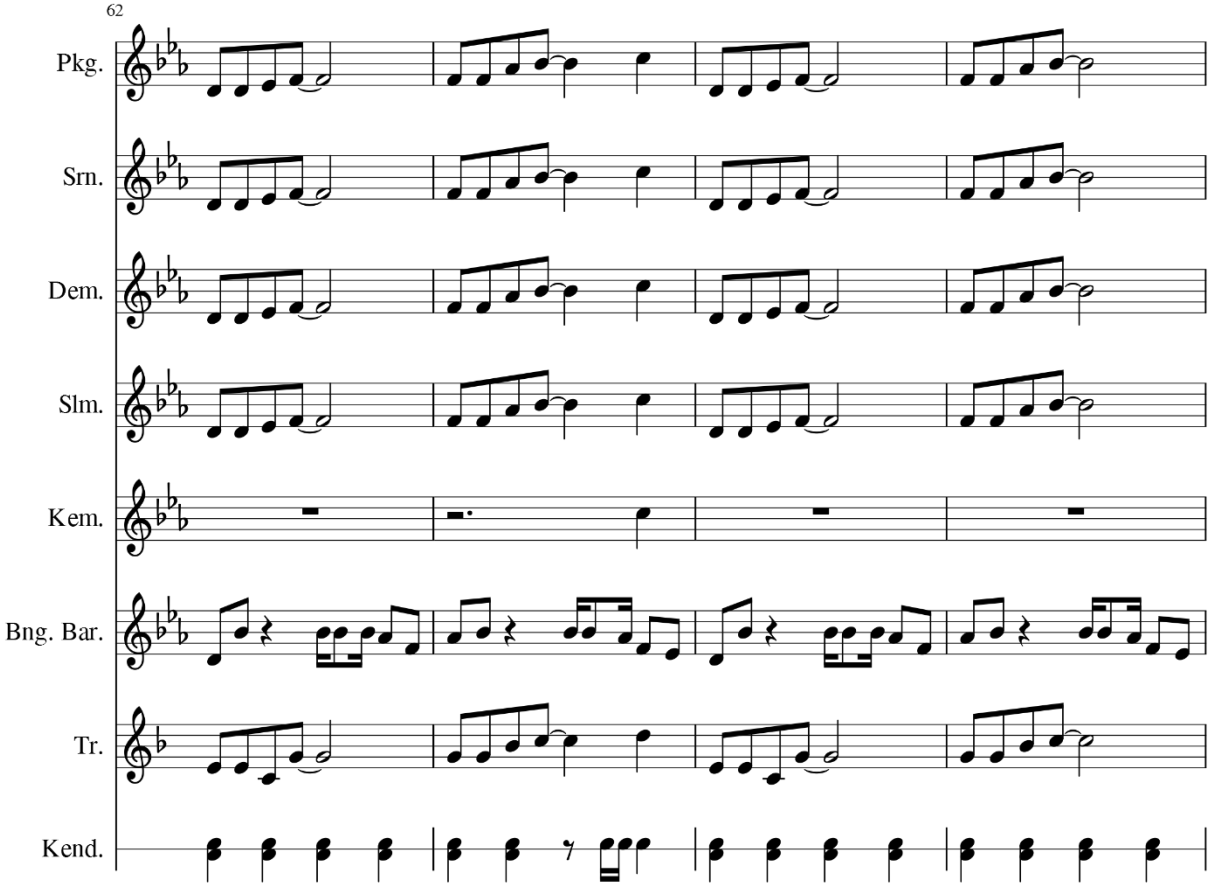
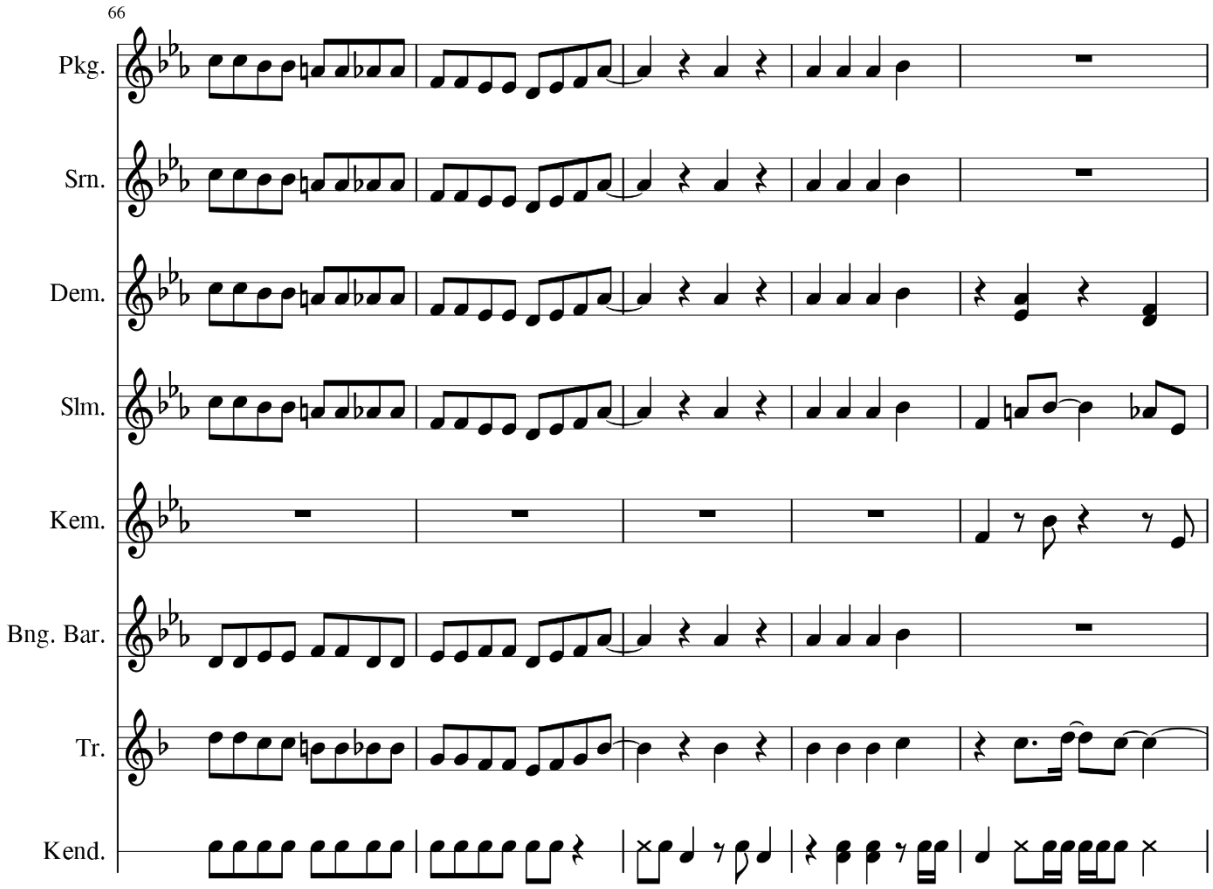
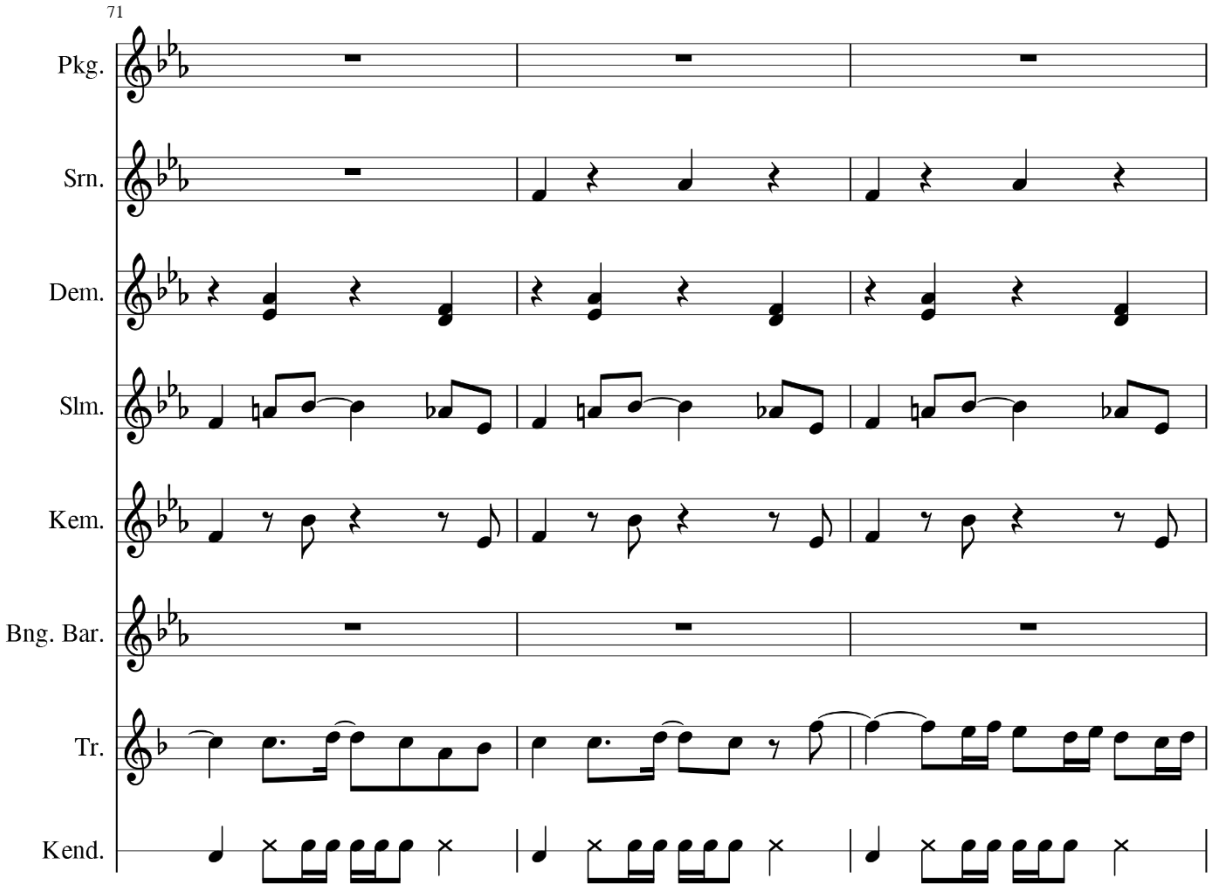
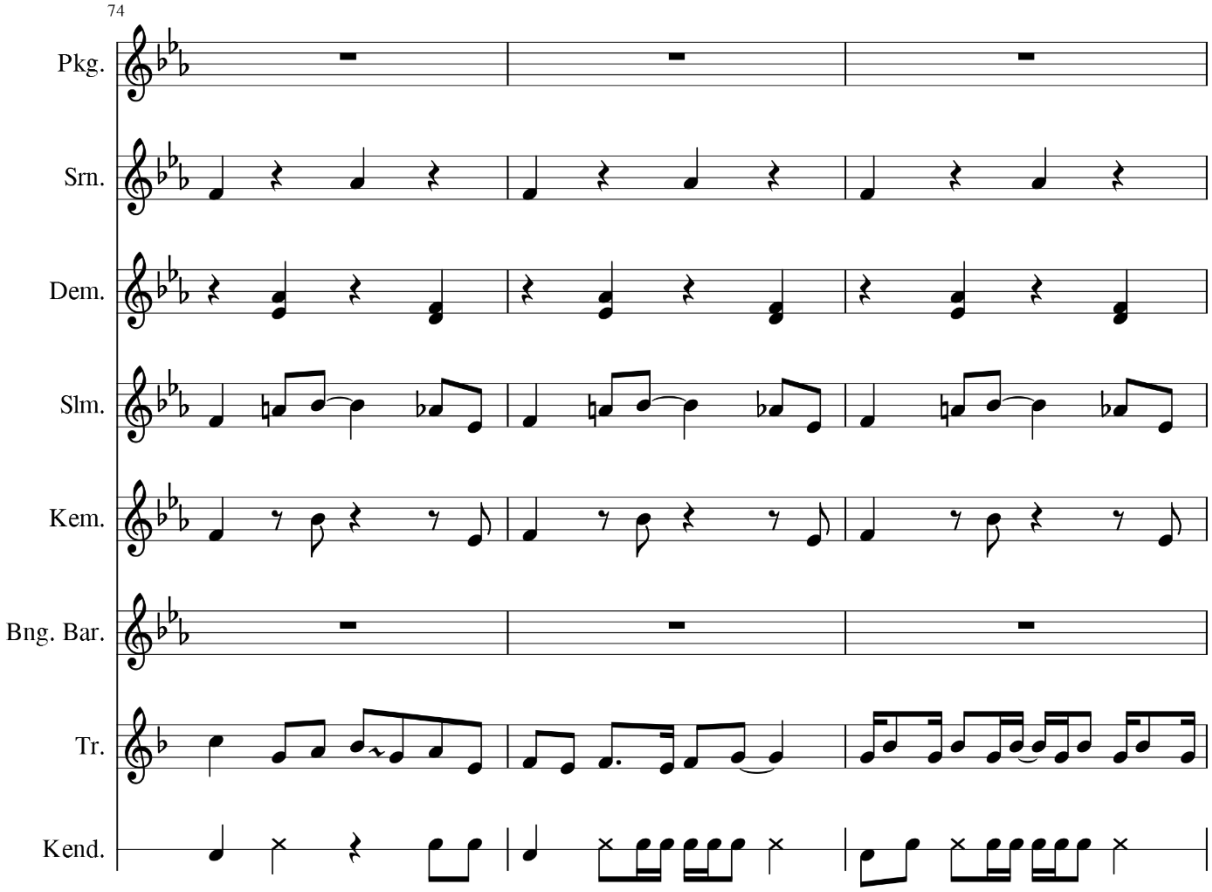
Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.

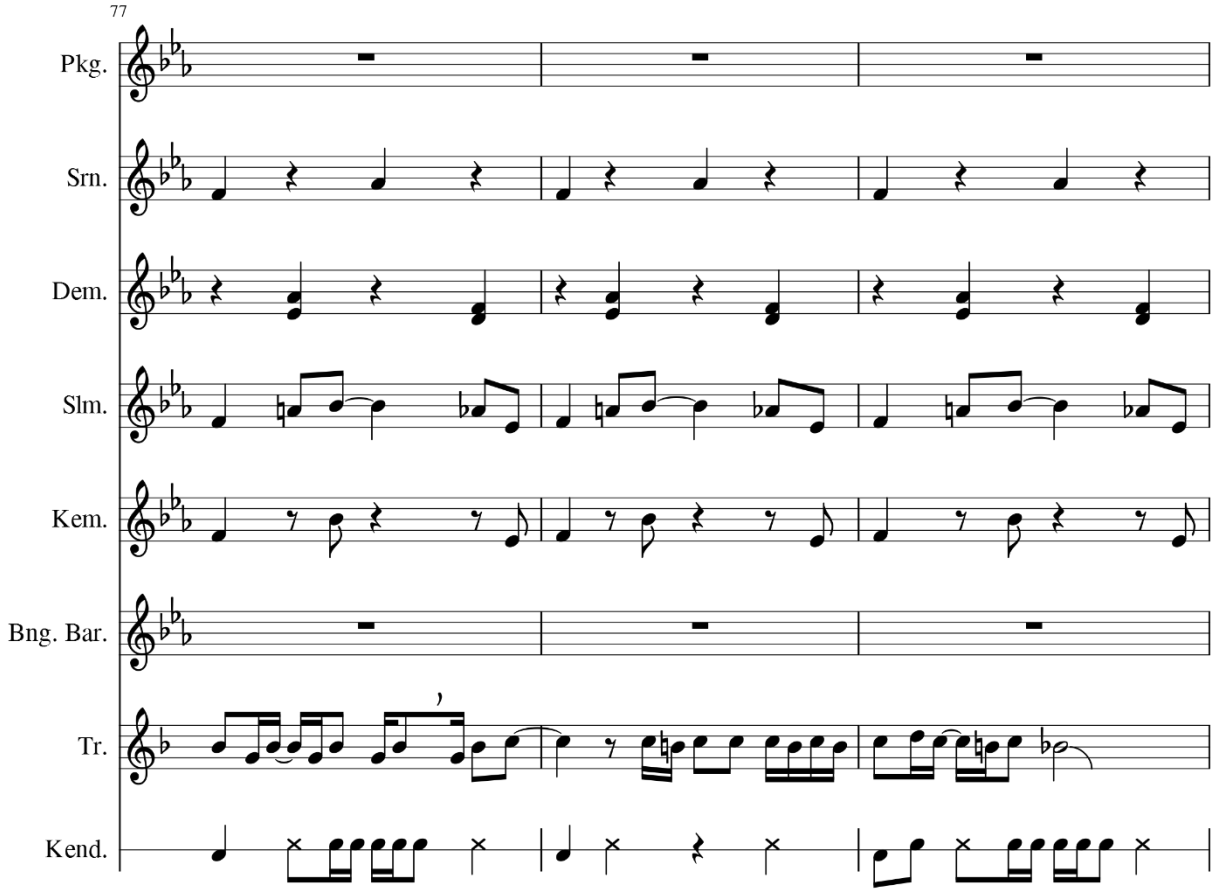

58
Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.

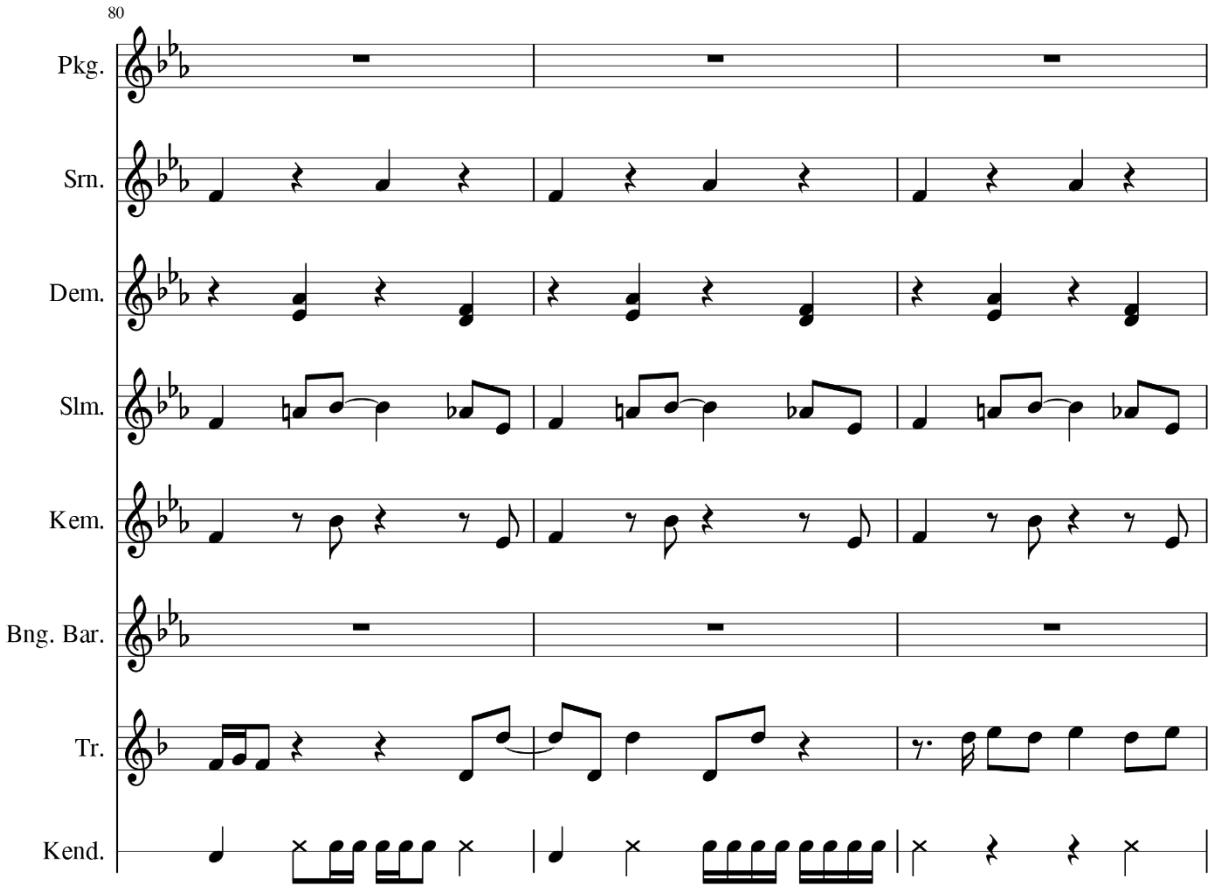

62
Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.


66
Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.


71
Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.


74
Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.


77
Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.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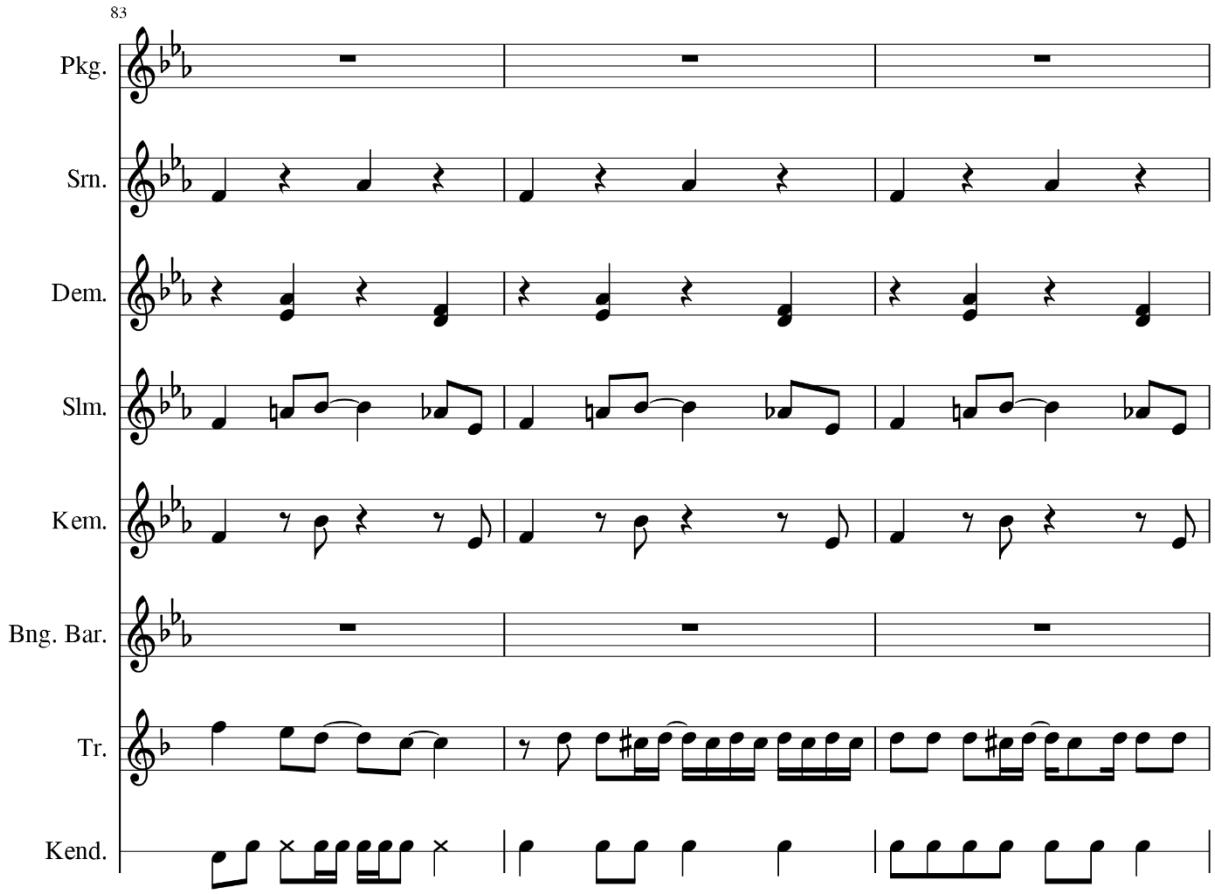
Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.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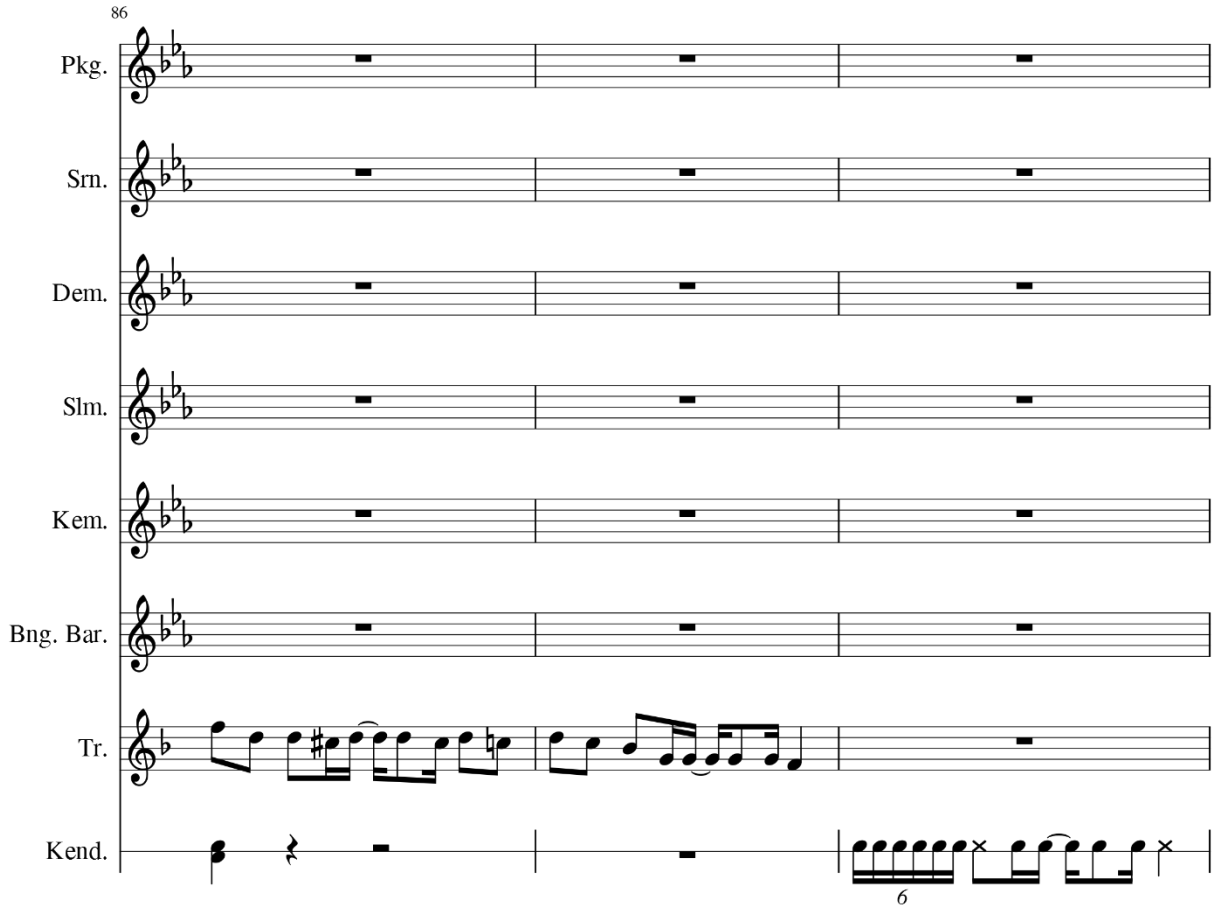
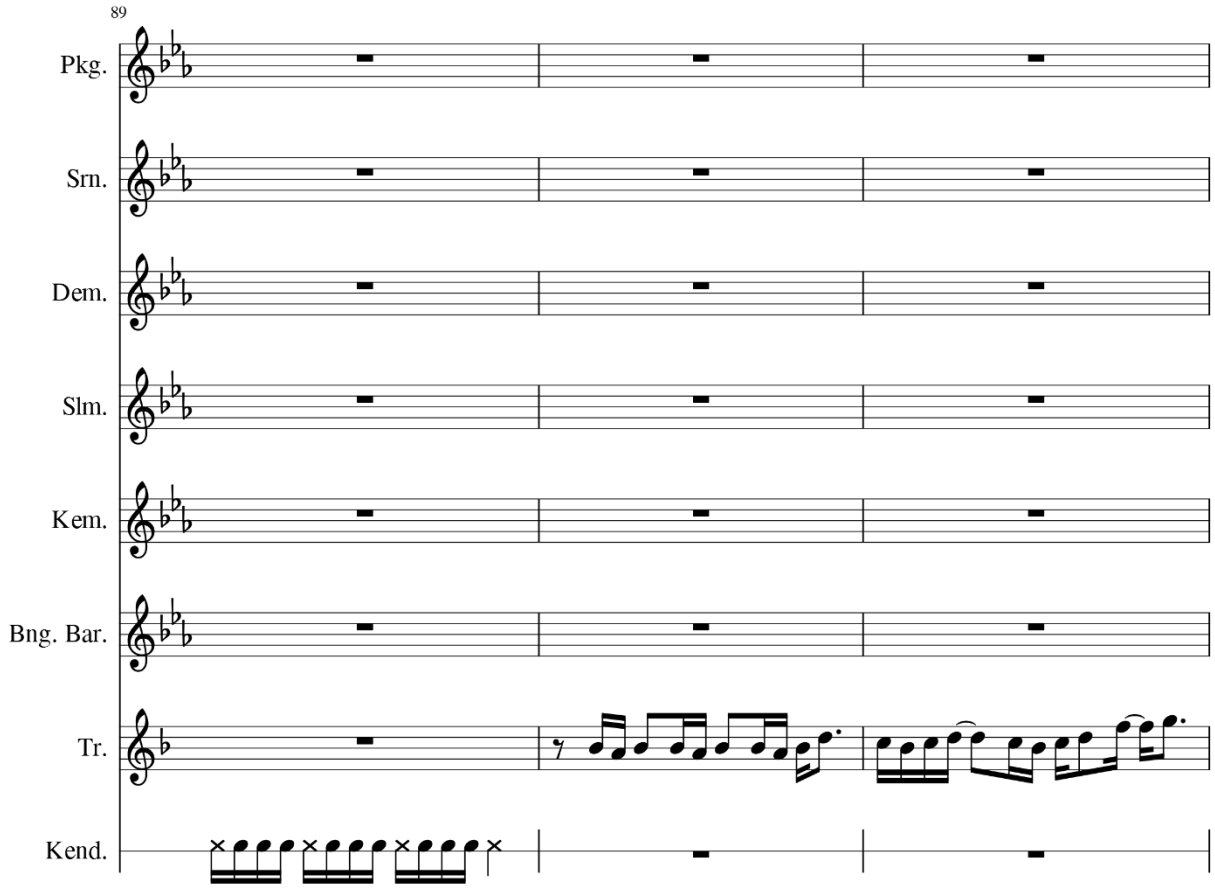
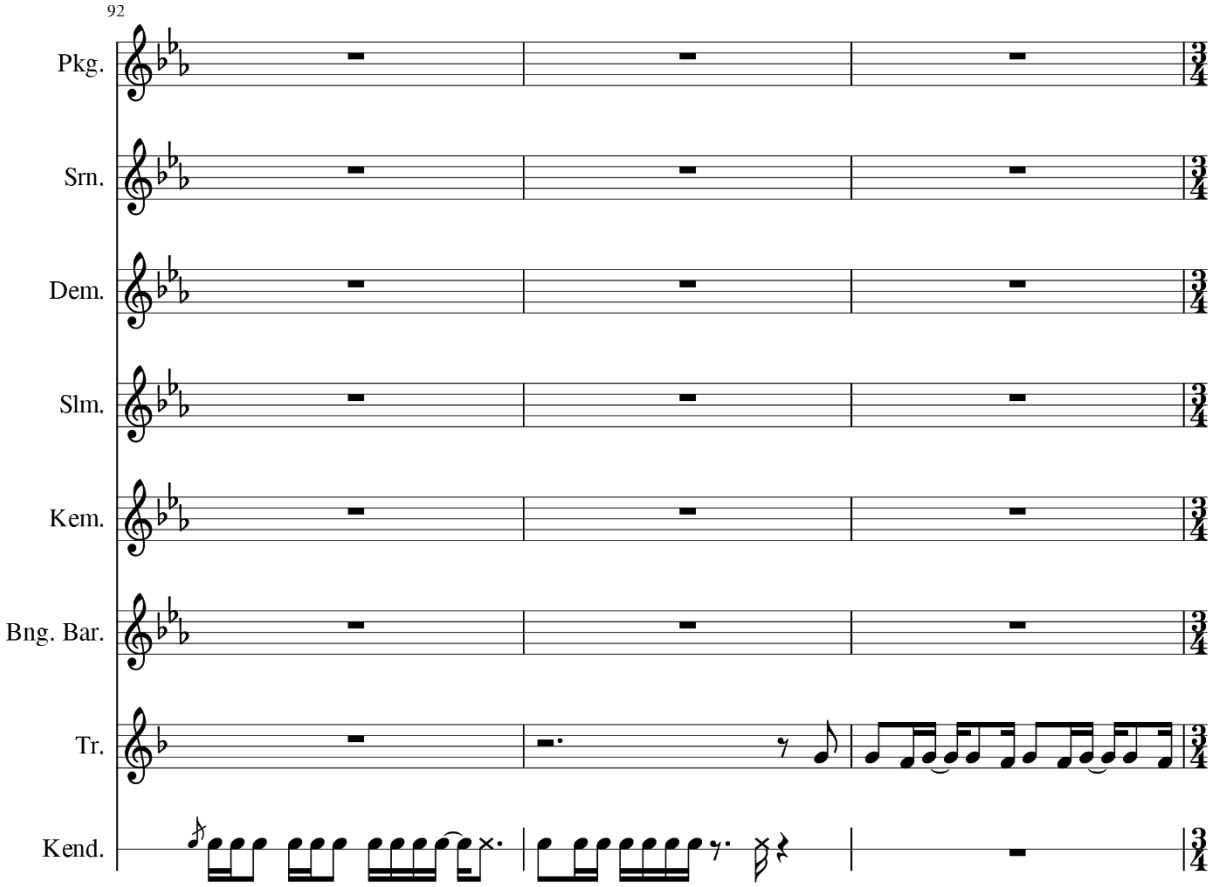
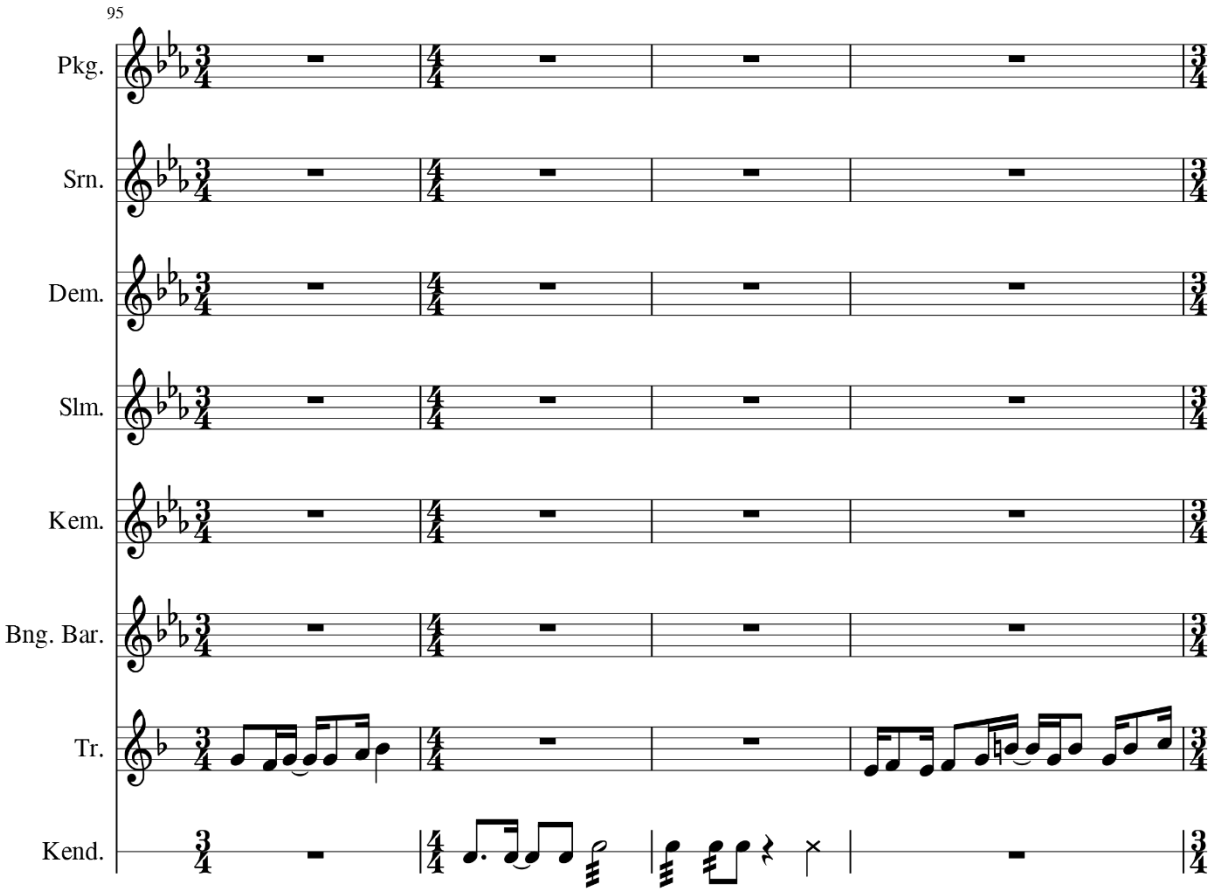
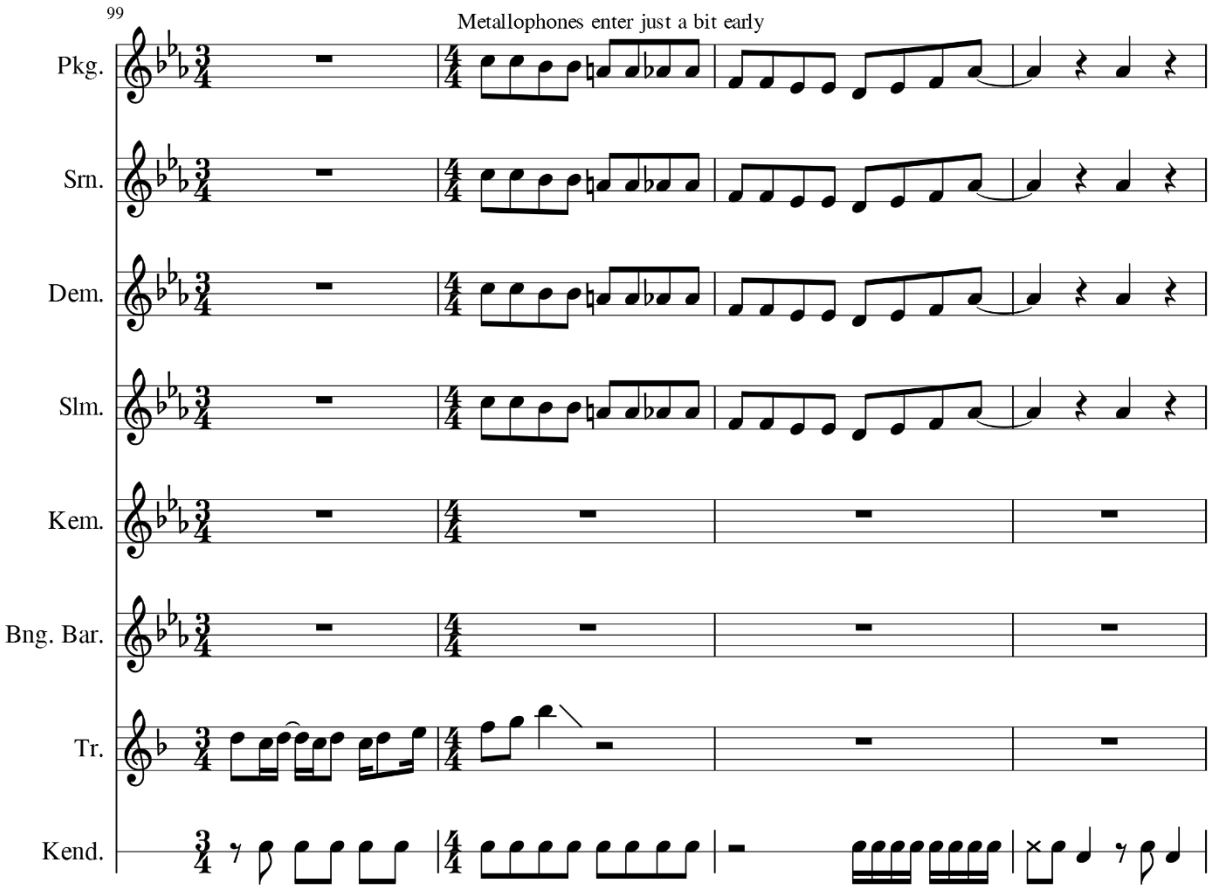
Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.

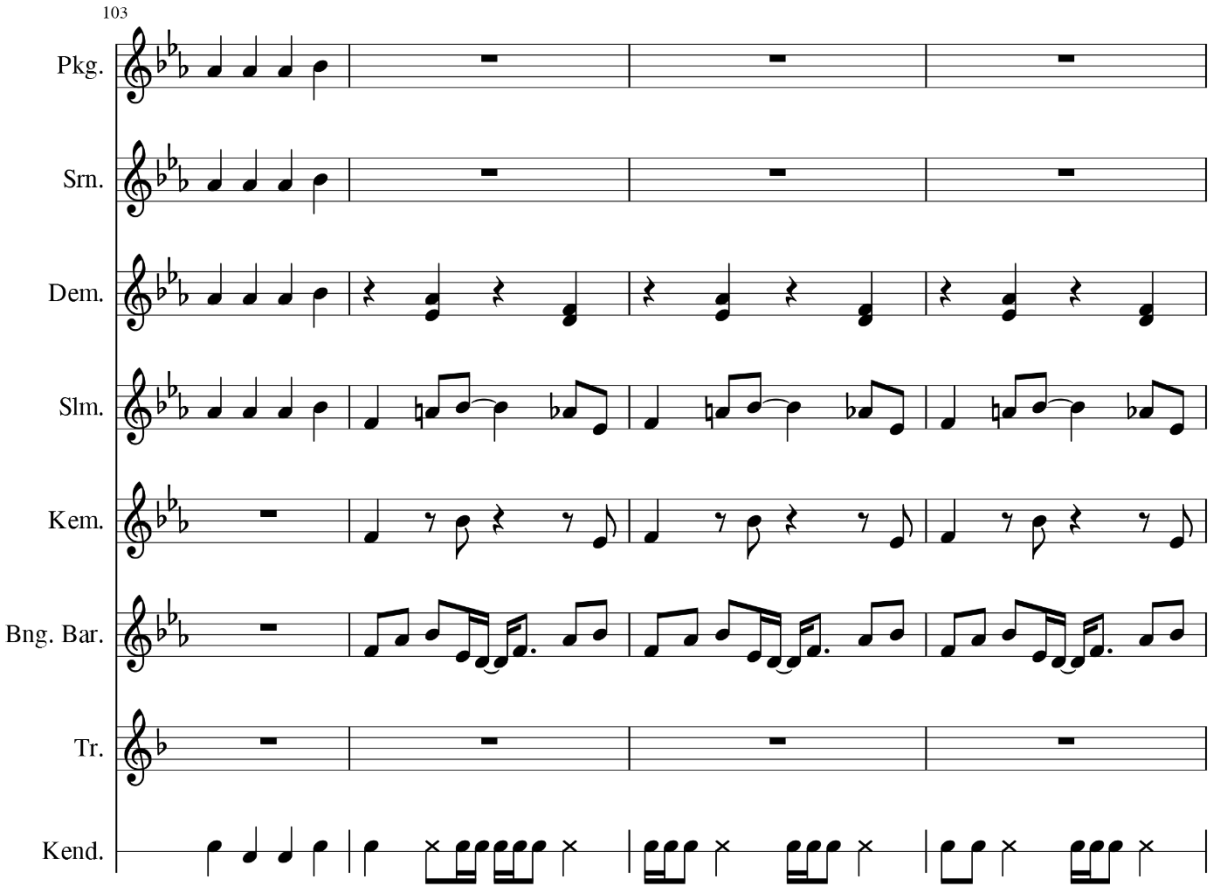

86
Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.
6

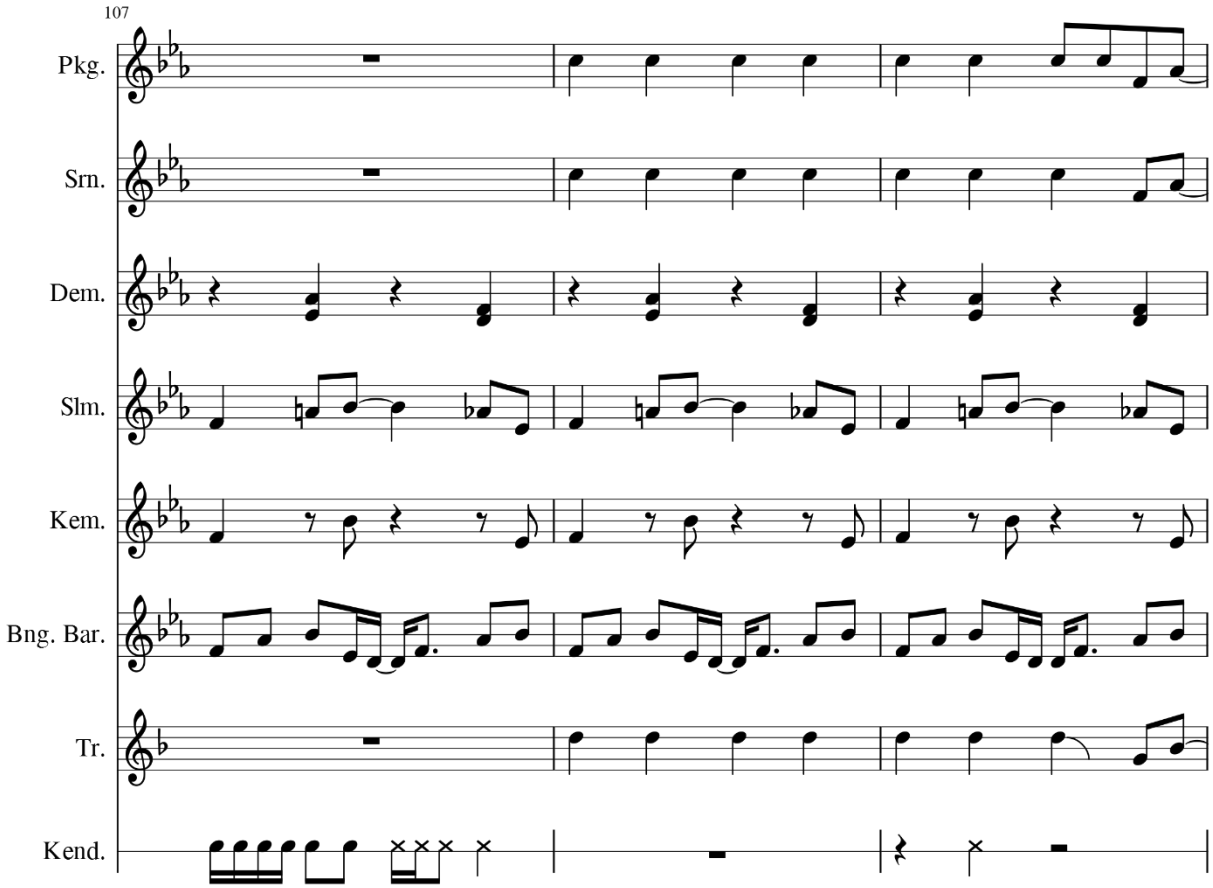

89
Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.

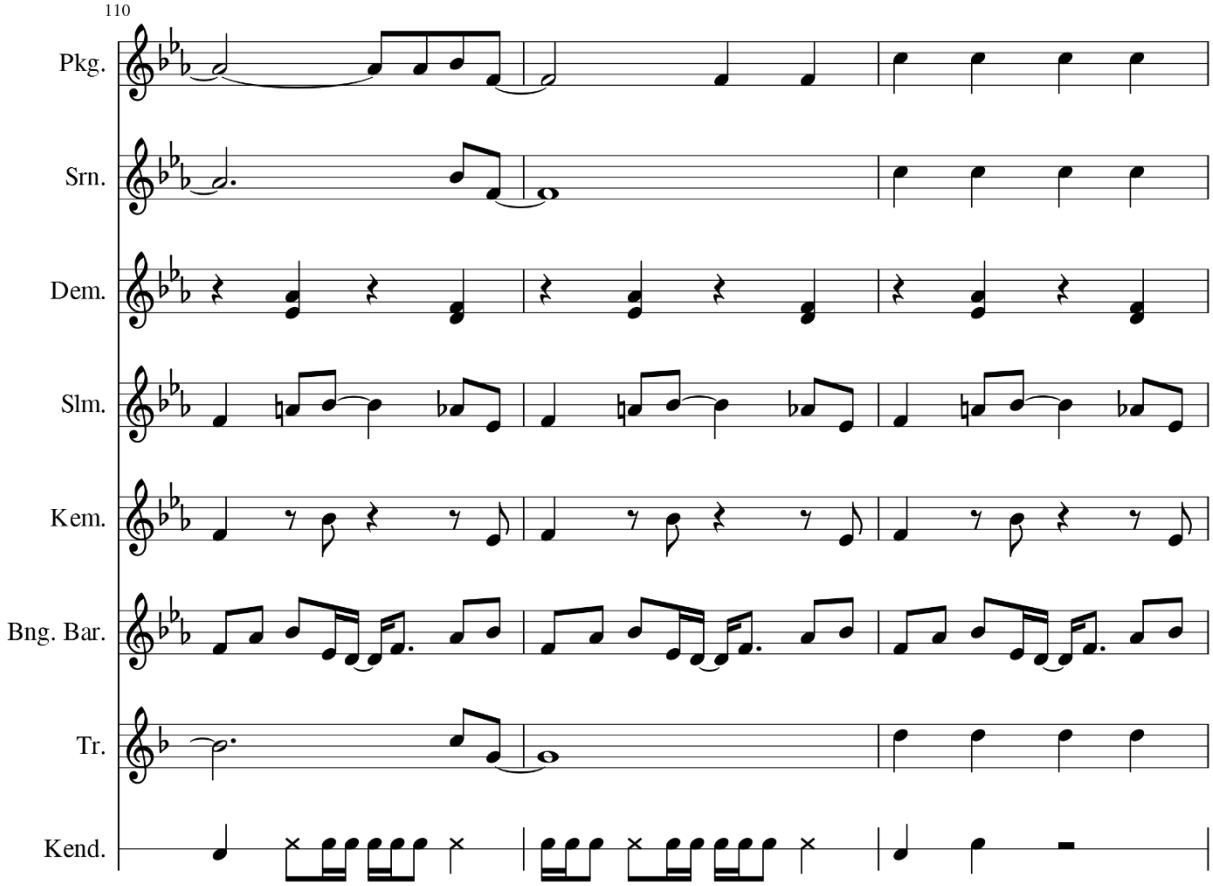

92
Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.


95
Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.


99
Metallophones enter just a bit early
Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.


103
Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.


107
Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.


110
Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
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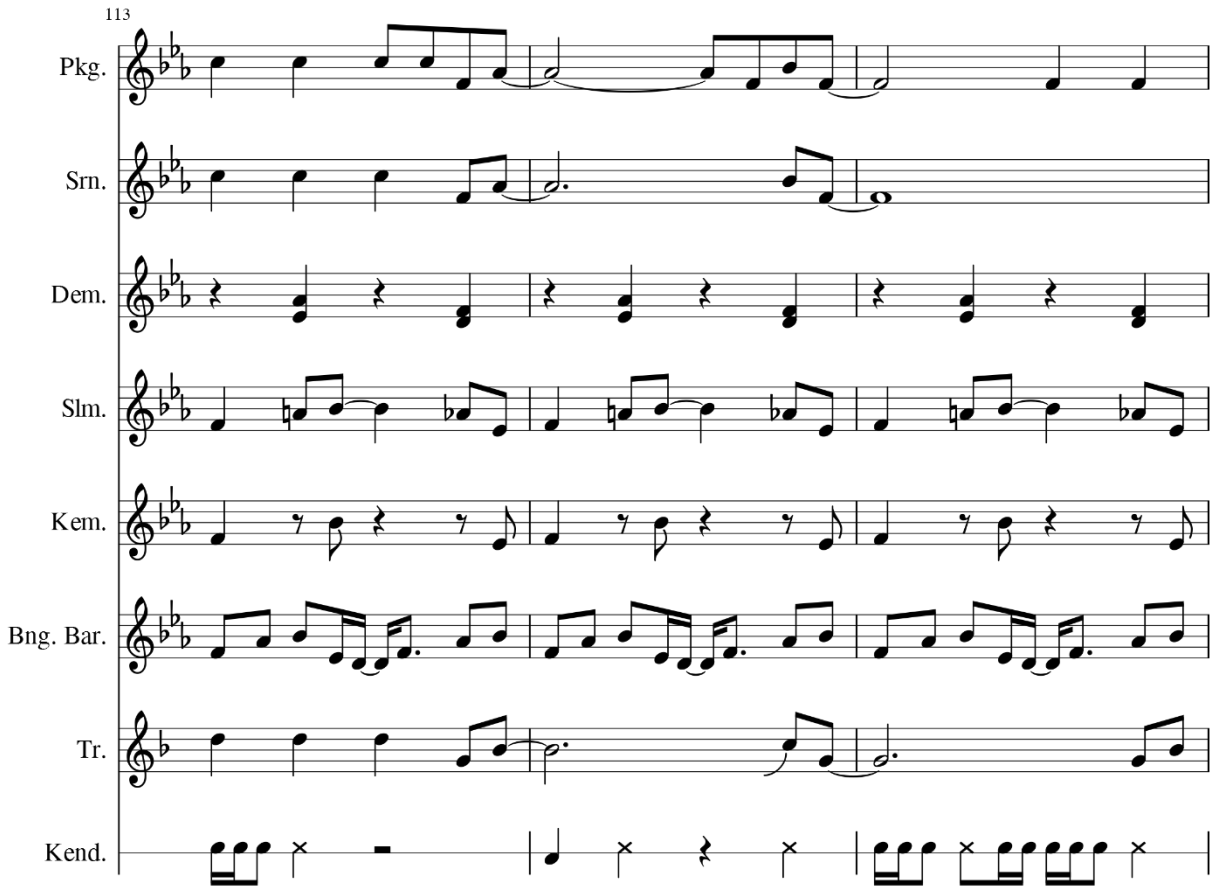
Kend.


113
Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
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Tr.
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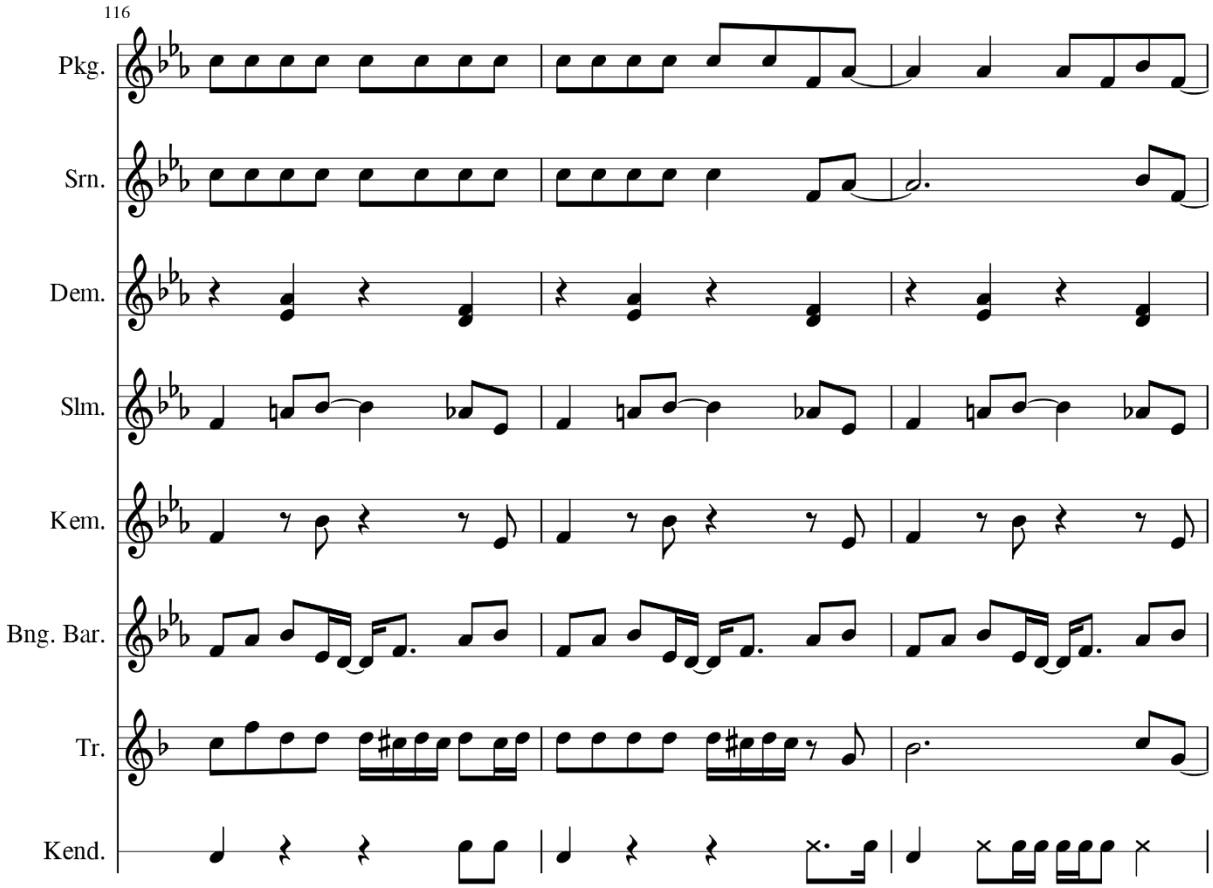
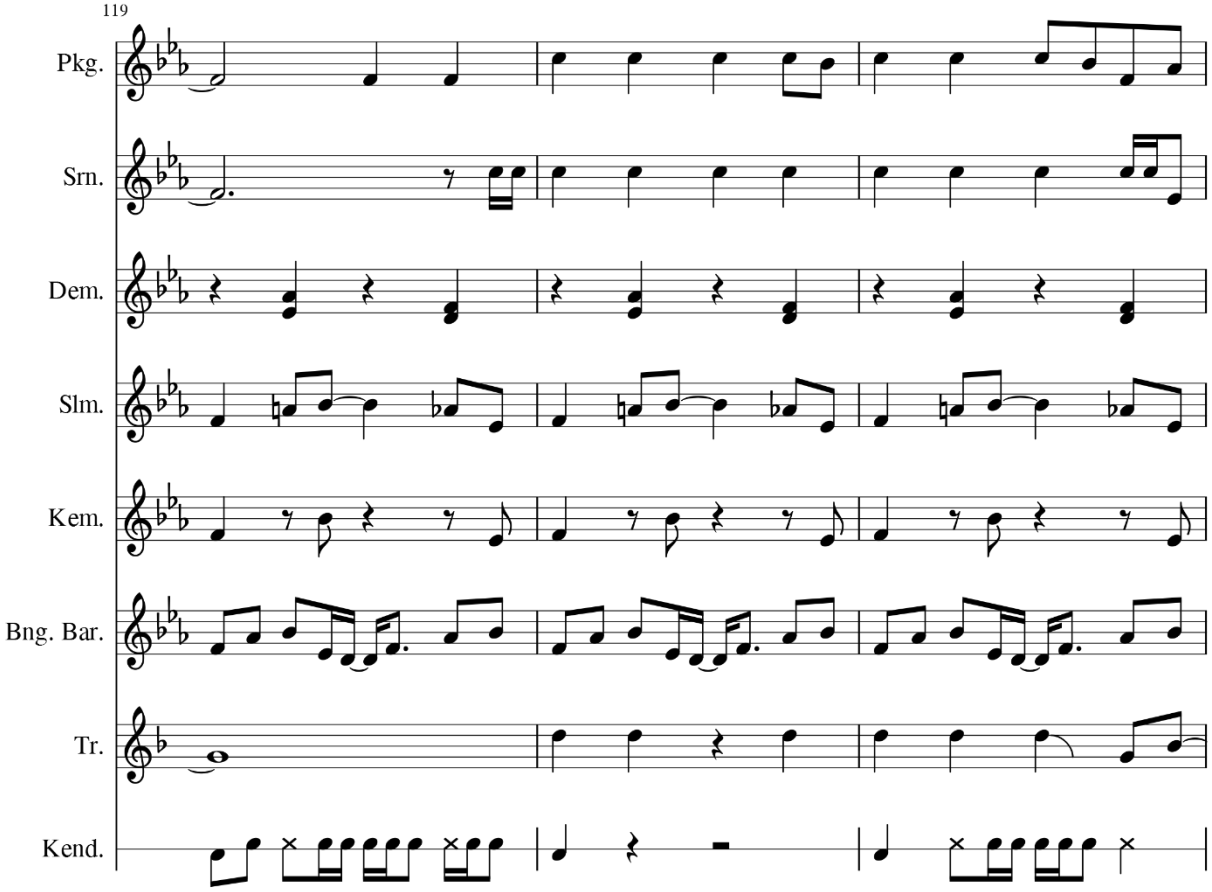
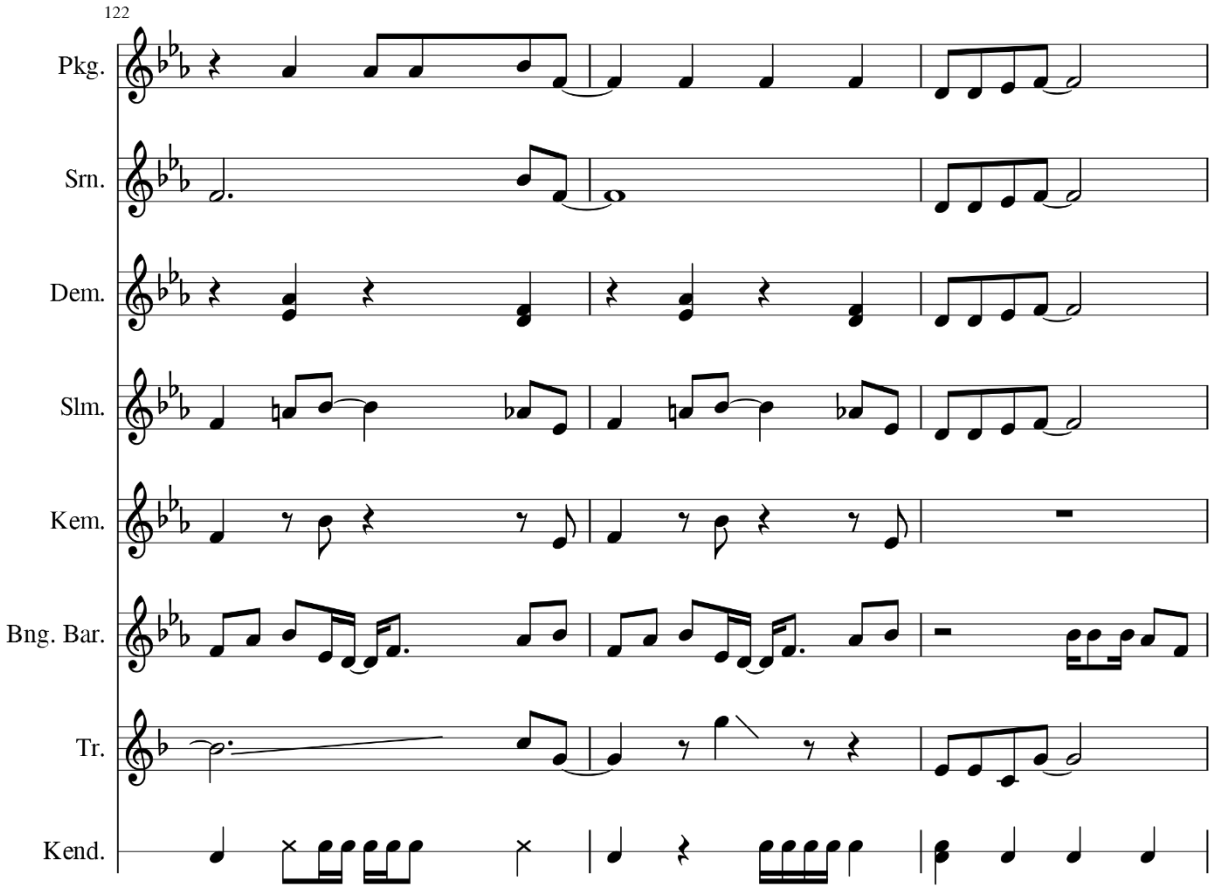
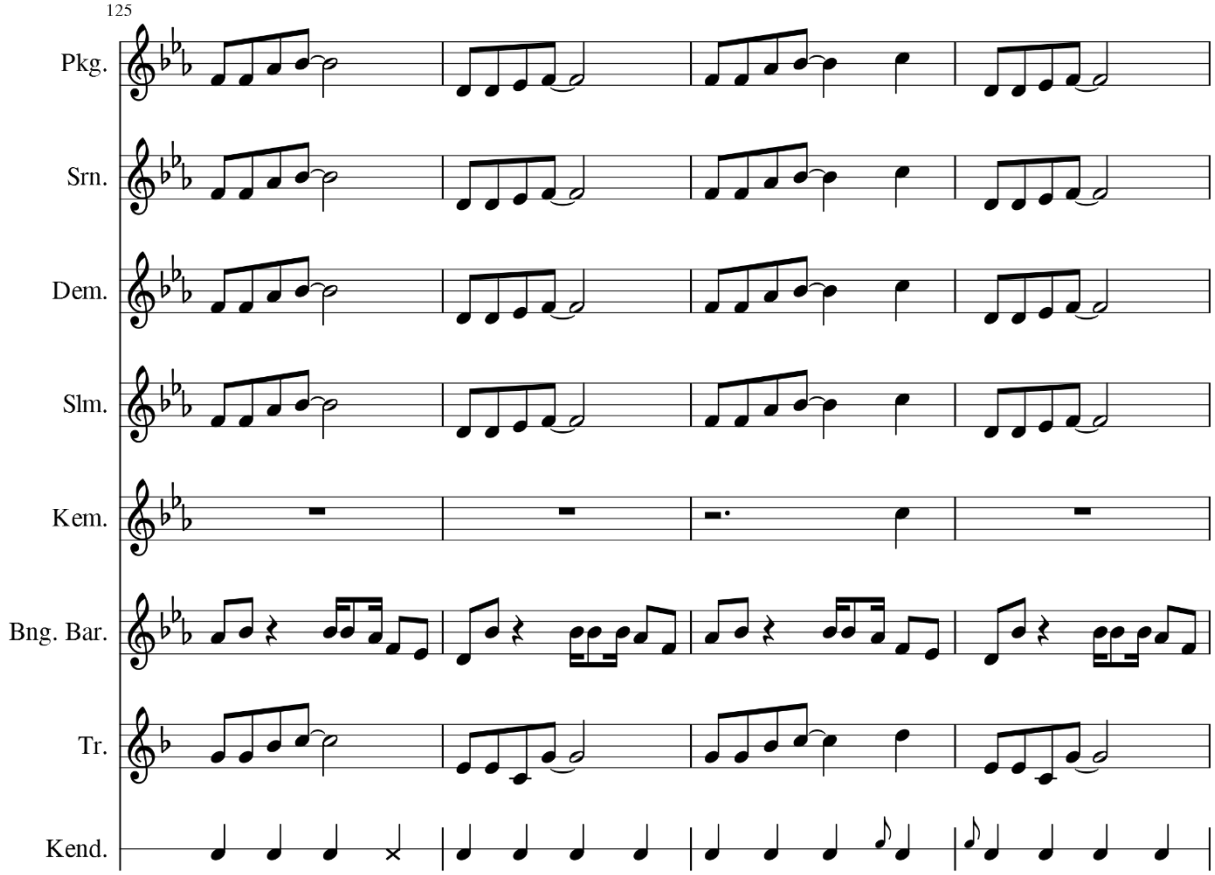
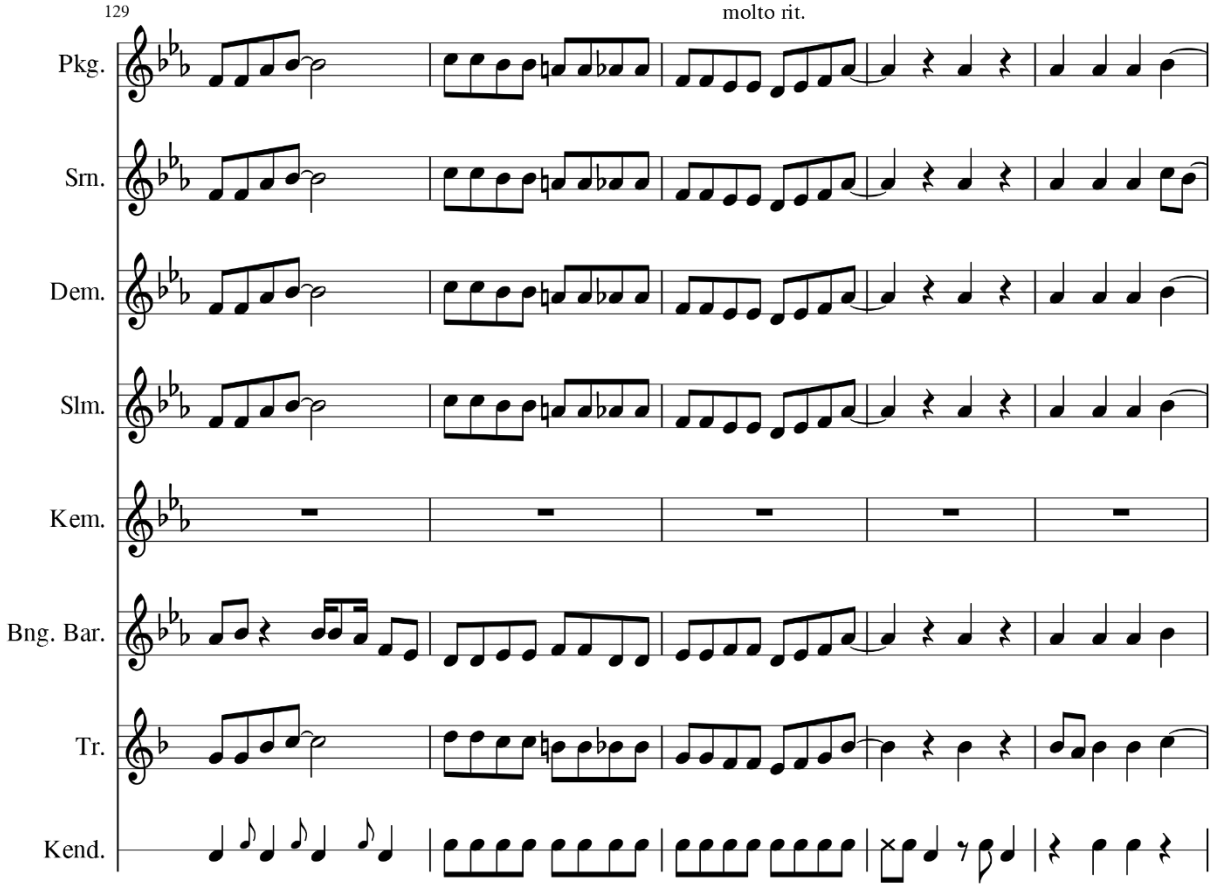
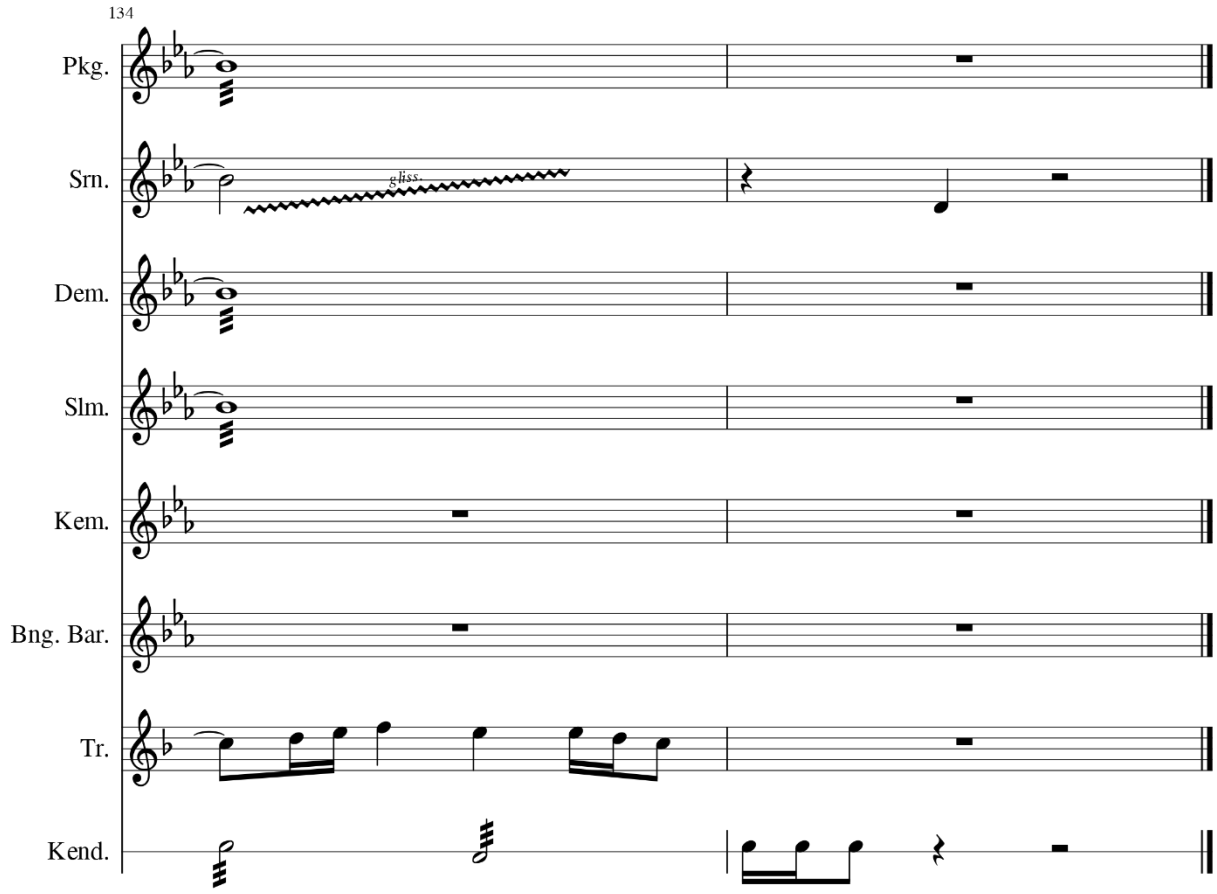

116
Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.


119
Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.


122
Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.


125
Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.


129
molto rit.
Pkg.
Srn.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.


134
Pkg.
Srn.
gliss.
Dem.
Slm.
Kem.
Bng. Bar.
Tr.
Kend.

Gamelunk

for Pelog Gamelan (with optional jazz soloist!)
by J Simon van der Walt

Bonangs

Intro, solos, Section A

```
3.4. 6.21 .3.. 4.6.   (repeat till cue)
```

Section B

```
.... ...6 .6.6 4.3.
4.6. ...6 .6.4 3.2.
1.6. ...6 .6.6 4.3.
4.6. ...6 .6.4 3.2.
1.6. ...6 .6.6 4.3.
4.6. ...6 .6.4 3.2.
1.1. 2.2. 3.3. 1.1.
2.2. 3.3. 4.5. 6.7.
.... .... 7... ....
7... 7... 7... 1...
```

Demung (two beaters!)

Section A

```
.... 4/2... .... 3/1...
```

Slenthem

Section A

```
3... 5.6. .... 4.2.
```

Kempul

Section A

```
3... ..6. .... ..2.
```

Gamelunk

Sarons

Section A

```
7... 7... 7... 7...
7... 7... 7... 3.4.
.... .... .... 6.3.
.... .... .... ....
```

PLAY TWICE

(Third time imbal)

```
7.7. 7.7. 7.7. 7.7.
7.7. 7.7. 7... 3.4.
.... .... .... 6.3.
.... .... .... ....
```

(Last time)

```
7... 7... 7... 7...
7... 7... 7... 3.4.
.... .... .... 6.3.
.... .... .... ....
```

Section B

```
1.1. 2.3. .... ....
3.3. 4.6. .... ....
1.1. 2.3. .... ....
3.3. 4.6. .... 7...
1.1. 2.3. .... ....
3.3. 4.6. .... ....
7.7. 6.6. 5.5. 4.4.
3.3. 2.2. 1.2. 3.4.
.... .... 4... ....
4... 4... 4... 6...
```

SECTION A

Peking (third time imbal)

```
.7.7 .7.7 .7.7 .7.7
.7.7 .7.7 .... 3.4.
.... .... .... 6.3.
.... .... .... ....
```

Appendix 2

Appendix 2 is a list of the UHJGE's repertoire as gathered from 57 concert programs beginning in 1971 and ending in 2016. As mentioned in the text, this is not a comprehensive list as not every single concert program from the intervening years was available. This list, however, gives a good overall picture of the massive repertoire performed by the UHJGE.

I have organized the list alphabetically based on title rather than form. The first iteration of each title is given in bold. I have not grouped all *lancarans, ladrangs, ketawangs,* etc., together because I wanted their various treatments to be clear at a glance. For example, in the list below one can see quickly that the UHJGE has performed "Ricik-Ricik" in *lancaran* and *ladrang* form without having to cross-reference. Within this alphabetized organization, I have further arranged the pieces in descending order of times performed. Taking "Ricik-Ricik" as our example once more, "Lancaran Ricik-Ricik" is listed first because it was performed six times. Next is "Ladrang Ricik-Ricik," performed two times; "Ricik-Ricik" (no form given) also performed twice; and finally "Lancaran Ricik-Ricik Banyumasan," performed once.

A total count of the group's repertoire based on this list is difficult for several reasons, the main being authors of program notes were often not consistent about titles. For example, a piece may be titled "Rena-Rena" in certain concert programs and "Lancaran Rena-Rena" in others. It is possible to assume these titles refer to the same piece, but in other instances it is not as clear. For this reason, I have counted the total number of titles performed by the UHJGE in two ways. If considering each unique title as an independent piece, the total stands at 261 pieces. If considering titles like "Rena-Rena" and "Lancaran Rena-Rena" to be the same piece, the total stands at 205 pieces. It is the latter number that I reference in the body of my text when discussing the repertoire of the UHJGE.

I include this list as the contextual basis for both the shorter lists in Chapter 6 as well as the analyses of repertoire in that chapter. I also include it as a window into the "time capsule" of musical knowledge preserved by this gamelan community. It is a testament to the depth of their commitment to Javanese gamelan music.

Title	***Pathet***	**Number of Performances**	**Year Performed First/Last**
Bawa Sekar **Ageng Basanta**	Pelog nem	1	1980
Bawa Sekar **Ageng Suraningsih**	Pelog barang	1	2011
Dolanan **Aja Dipleroki**	Pelog lima	2	1997/2007
Arum-Arum	Pelog barang	4	1991/2009
Bubaran Arum-Arum	Pelog barung	1	2014
Asmaradana	Pelog barang Slendro	2	1972/1985
Palaran Asmaradana	Pelog barang	2**	1977
Ladrang Asmaradana	Slendro manyura	1	1997
Ayak-Ayak	Pelog lima Pelog nem Slendro manyura Slendro sanga Slendro nem	27	1971/2016
Ayak-Ayak Giyar	Pelog barang	2**	1977
Ayak-Ayak Kumuda	None listed	1	1999
Ayak-Ayak Rangu-Rangu	Pelog barang	1	2011
Aya-Ayak Pamungkas	Slendro manyura	1	2016
Ayak-Ayak Wedharingtyas	Slendro manyura	1	1991
Dolanan **Ayo Ngguyu**	Pelog nem	1	1979
Ladrang **Ayun-Ayun**	Pelog nem	5	1984/2015
Gending Bonang **Babar Layar**	Pelog lima Pelog nem	3	1979/2016
Gendhing **Babat**	Slendro manyura	1	1978
Ladrang Babat	Pelog barang	1	2015
Lancaran **Baito Kandas (20)**	Pelog nem	1	2008
Ladrang **Bayem Tur**	Pelog lima	1	1980

Ladrang **Bedhat**	Slendro nem	1	2013
Lancaran **Bendrong**	Slendro manyura Pelog nem	8	1977/2016
Bendrong	Slendro manyura	1	1990
Ladrang **Bima Kurda**	Pelog barang	14	1971/2016
Bindri	Slendro sanga	3	1987/2002
Gendhing **Bondhan Kinanthi**	None listed	1	1985
Gendhing **Bondhet**	Slendro sanga Slendro nem Pelog nem	4	1991/2009
Ketawang **Boyng Basuki**	Pelog barang	1	1982
Lancaran **Bribil**	Pelog nem	1	1990
Ketawang **Brondong Mentul**	Pelog barang	2**	1977
Bubaran	None listed	1	1997
Gendhing **Budheng-Budheng**	Pelog nem	1	1980
Campuh	None listed	2	2007/2011
Dolanan **Celeng Mogok**	Pelog barang	1	2014
Dolanan **Cempa**	Slendro manyra	1	1980
Ladrang **Clunthang Matarama**	Slendro sanga	2	2010/2014
Gendhing **Cucur Bawuk**	Slendro manyura	3	2007/2013
Cucur Bawuk (40)	Slendro manyura	1	1980
Cucur Biru	Pelog nem Pelog lima	4	1986/2012
Gendhing **Denggung Turulare**	Pelog lima Pelog nem	4	1977/2012
Ladrang **Dirada Meta**	Slendro nem Pelog nem	4	1972/2008
Playon **Durma**	Pelog barang	2	2006/2007
Ada-Ada Durma	Pelog barang	1	2016
Eling-Eling Banyumasan	Slendro manyura	3	1978/2008
Ladrang Eling-Eling	Slendro sanga Pelog nem	2	1977/2012011
Dolanan Eling-Eling Banyumasan	Slendro manyura	1	1979
Ladrang Eling-Eling Kasmaran	Pelog barang	1	2016

Dolanan **Emplek-Emplek Ketepu**	Slendro manyura	2	1980/1990
Gendhing **Endhol-Endhol**	Pelog barang	1	2011
Ladrang **Gajah Endro**	Slendro nem	1	1980
Gendhing **Gambirsawit** Pancerana	Pelog nem	5	1991/2011
Gendhing Gambirsawit Condong Campur	Slendro sanga	2	2007/2011
Gendhing Gambirsawit	Slendro sanga Pelog nem	2	1977/1999
Gendhing Gambirsawit Sembunggilang	Slendro sanga	1	2002
Gambirsawit	Pelog nem	1	1987
Ketawang **Gambuh**	Pelog nem Slendro nem Slendro manyura	6	1980/2015
Gambuh	Pelog nem	4	1987/1991
Lancaran Gambuh (60)	Pelog nem	1	2013
Palaran Gambuh	Slendro nem	1	1980
Ketawang **Gandamastuti**	Pelog nem	1	2016
Lancaran **Ganggong**	Slendro Slendro nem	2	1984/2006
Ganggong	Slendro nem	2	1987/1991
Gangsaran	Pelog nem Slendro nem Slendro manyura	8	1978/2015
Gangsaran Carabalen	Pelog nem	1	2008
Gara-Gara	Slendro sanga	1	1990
Gara-Gara Medley^	Slendro sanga	1	2002
Genggong	Pelog nem	1	1991
Lancaran Genggong	Pelog nem	1	2006
Ladrang **Ginonjing**	Slendro manyura	1	1977
Dolanan **Glathik Glindhing**	None listed	1	1990
Gendhing **Glewang Gonjing**	Slendro manyura	1	1977
Ladrang **Gleyong**	Pelog nem to Slendro nem	3	1992/2013

Gleyong	Pelog nem to Slendro nem	1	1980
Gendhing **Glondhong Pring**	Pelog nem	1	2013
Godril Lumajang	Pelog nem	1	1991
Ladrang **Gonjing Miring**	Slendro nem	1	1977
Lancaran **Grombol Kethek Banyumasan (80)**	Slendro manyura	1	2016
Ladrang **Gudasih**	Pelog nem	1	2013
Lancaran **Gugur Gunung**	Pelog barang	1	1978
Lancaran **Gula Klapa**	Pelog lima	1	1977
Ladrang **Gunungsari**	Pelog nem	1	1994
Ladrang **Hoyag-Hoyag**	Slendro manyura	1	1991
Lelagon Ijo-Ijo	Pelog barang	1	2013
Dolanan **Ilir-Ilir**	Slendro manyura	1	1980
Lancaran **Janggitan**	Pelog Slendro nem	2	1984/2006
Janggitan	Slendro nem	1	1991
Jangkung Kuning	Pelog barang	4	1991/2009
Gendhing Jangkung Kuning	Pelog barang	3	2010/2014
Ladrang **Jagung-Jagung**	Pelog nem Slendro manyura	4	1978/2015
Jagung-Jagung	Slendro nem	1	1987
Jineman Tatanya	Slendro sanga	1	1982
Jonggolono	Pelog nem	1	1999
Pathetan **Jugag**	Slendro manyura	1	1979
Gendhing **Jungkang**	Slendro sanga	2	2010/2014
Lancaran **Jurang Jugrug**	Pelog nem	1	1991
Ladrang **Kagok Madura**	Slendro sanga	1	1991
Kalongking (100)	Pelog nem	2	1987/1990
Lancaran Kalongking	Pelog nem	1	1977
Ladrang Kalongking	Pelog nem	1	1977
Kandhang Bubrah	Pelog nem	3	1982/1997
Lancaran Kandhang Bubrah	Pelog nem	1	2010
Beksan **Karongsih**	None listed	1	1989

Gambyong Karongsih	Pelog barang	1	1978
Ladrang Karongsih	Pelog barang	1	1997
Lancaran **Kebo Giro**	Pelog barang	2	1977/1984
Kebo Giro	Pelog barang	1	1971
Ketawang **Kedhempel**	Slendro sanga	1	1982
Gendhing **Kembang Gembol**	Pelog lima	1	1980
Ladrang **Kembang Pepe**	Slendro manyura Pelog barang	6	1979/2013
Ladrang **Kembang Tanjung**	Slendro sanga	1	1991
Kemuda	Pelog Pelog nem	2	1980/1987
Kemuda Rangsang	Slendro sanga	1	1994
Ladrang **Kenya Tinembe**	Pelog nem	1	1980
Kinanthi	Slendro manyura	1	1979
Dolanan **Kudangan**	Slendro sanga	1	2007
Lagu Dolanan **Kupu Kuwi**	Pelog nyamat	1	2013
Ladrang **Kuwung**	Pelog barang	3	1997/2014
Ladrangan	Pelog nem	1	2008
Lagon Wetah	Pelog barang	1	1977
Gendhing **Lambangsari**	Pelog barang	1	1982
Lambangsari	Slendro manyura	1	1986
Bawa Sekar **Langen Asmara**	Slendro sanga	1	1979
Ketawang **Langen Gita**	Slendro sanga Pelog nem Pelog lima	4	1980/2016
Larasingrum	Pelog nem	1	1986
Ladrang **Lipursari**	Slendro manyura	4	1980/2015
Gendhing **Lobong**	Slendro manyura Pelog barang	4	1979/2013
Ladrang **Lung Gadhung (30)**	Pelog nem	3	1991/2007
Ketawang **Madurmurti**	Pelog barang	1	1992
Lancaran **Maesa Liwung**	Slendro sanga	1	1977
Lancaran **Maeso Giro**	Pelog barang	1	1982

Gendhing **Majemuk**	Slendro nem	1	1977
Gendhing Bonang Majemuk	None listed	1	1982
Gendhing **Malarsih**	Pelog barang	1	2012
Ladrang **Manis**	Pelog barang	1	1991
Lancaran **Manjar Sewu**	Slendro nem	3	1972/1978
Megatruh	Pelog barang	1	1989
Ketawang Megatruh	Pelog barang	1	1991
Rambangan Megatruh	Pelog barang	1	1980
Lagu Dolanan **Minthok-Minthok**	Pelog nyamat	1	2013
Gendhing **Miyanggong**	Pelog nem	2	1990/2007
Ladrang **Mliwis**	Pelog barang Slendro nem	3	1997/2002
Ladrang **Mudhatama**	Slendro sanga	1	2016
Mystik	None listed	2**	2011
Lagu paman **Ngguyang Jaran**	Pelog barang	1	2011
Nini Tunggu Jagung	Slendro nem	1	1991
Orak-Orak	Pelog nem	2	1990/2007
Padhang Bulan	Slendro manyura Pelog barang	3	2012/2013
Kinanthi Padhang Bulan	Pelog barang	1	2007
Ladrang **Pakumpulan**	Slendro sanga	3	1994/2016
Gendhing **Pancatnyana**	Pelog barang	1	2011
Ladrang **Pangkur**	Pelog barang Slendro sanga	15	1971/2016
Palaran Pangkur	Slendro sanga Pelog nem	2	2010/2016
Pangkur Ngrenas	Pelog lima	1	2006
Pare Anom	Slendro manyura	3	1980/2013
Ladrang Pare Anom	Pelog nem	2	1992/1994
Parisuka	Pelog nem	1	2012
Ketawang **Pawukir (60)**	Slendro manyura	2	1990/2016
Pawukir	Slendro manyura Pelog barang	2**	1972

Ketawang **Pisang Bali**	Pelog nem	1	1982
Playon	Slendro manyura Pelog barang Pelog nem Slendro sanga	5	1980/1991
Ladrang Playon	Pelog lima	1	1977
Playon Kratonan	Pelog barang	1	1992
Playon Soro Daten	Pelog barang	2**	1977
Playon Ngayogya	Pelog barang	1	1982
Playon Yogya	Pelog barang	1	1997
Palaran **Pocung**	Slendro nem	1	1980
Pocung	Pelog barang	1	1982
Praom	Pelog lima Pelog nem	2	1982/2007
Gendhing Beksan **Prawira Watang**	Pelog nem	1	1992
Palaran **Pucung**	Pelog barang	2	2011/2016
Pucung Wuyung	Pelog nem	2	2006/2008
Bawa Pucung	Pelog barang	1	1980
Rambangan Pucung	Pelog barang	1	1980
Pucung	Pelog barang	1	1989
Ladrang **Pucung Rubuh**	Slendro manyura Pelog nem	7	1977/2016
Pucung Rubuh	Slendro manyura	1	1990
Puspanjala	Pelog nem	3	1982/1997
Ketawang Puspanjala	Pelog nem	2	2010/2016
Ketawang **Puspawarna**	Slendro manyura	1	2015
Rajaswala	Pelog nem	1	1986
Rambangan Sinom	Pelog barang	1	1982
Ladrang **Randha Ngangsu**	Pelog barang	1	2010
Gendhing **Randhu Kintir**	Pelog nem	1	1991
Ladrang **Rangu-Rangu**	Pelog barang	1	2011
Lancaran **Rena-Rena**	Slendro nem	2	1997/2008
Rena-Rena	Slendro nem Slendro manyura	2	1979/1992
Rengong Gancang (90)	None listed	1	1982
Lancaran **Ricik-Ricik**	Pelog barang Slendro manyura	6	1972/2002

Ladrang Ricik-Ricik	Pelog barang	2	1991/1994
Ricik-Ricik	Pelog nem Pelog barang	2	1972/1986
Lancaran Ricik-Ricik Banyumasan	Slendro manyura	1	2016
Lancaran **Rina-Rina**	Slendro manyura	1	2011
Ladrang **Roning Tawang**	Pelog nem	1	1992
Runtung	Slendro nem	1	1986
Sampak	Pelog lima Pelog nem Pelog barang Slendro manyura Slendro sanga	27	1971/2016 (30)
Sampak Rina	Slendro manyura	1	1972
Sampak Tayungan (200)	Slendro manyura	1	2015
Sampak Westminster	Slendro sanga	1	1987
Ketawang Kinanthi **Sandhung**	Slendro nem Slendro manyura	3	1979/1997
Ladrang **Sarayudah**	Pelog nem	1	1980
Ladrang **Sekar Pete**	Pelog barang	1	2011
Ladrang **Sembawa**	Pelog lima	4	1972/2015
Sendhon Tlutur	Slendro manyura	1	2016
Serimpi Muncar	Pelog barang	1	1978
Lancaran **Singa Nebah**	Pelog barang Slendro nem	7	1979/2016
Katawang **Sinom Parijatha**	Slendro sanga	1	1979
Ketawang **Sinom Rog-Rog Asem**	Slendro manyura	1	1977
Ladrang **Slamet**	None listed	1	1971
Srepegan	Slendro sanga Slendro manyura Pelog lima Pelog nem Pelog barang	26	1971/2016 (34)
Srepegan Durma	Pelog barang	2	2011/2016
Srepeg Durma	Pelog barang	1	1991
Srepegan Kemuda	Pelog nem	2	2010/2016
Srepegan Kumuda Rangsang	Slendro sanga	1	1997
Srepegan Pinjalan	Slendro nem	1	2013
Srepegan Rangu-Rangu	Pelog barang Slendro sanga	3	1982/2011

Srepegan Slobong	Slendro nem	1	1980
Slepegan	Slendro manyura Pelog nem	2	1977/1990
Slepegan Gambuh	Pelog nem	1	1990
Slepegan Kemuda	Pelog nem	1	1990
Slepegan Panjang	Pelog nem	1	1990
Slepeg	Slendro nem	1	1992
Slepeg Panjang	Pelog nem	1	1991
Ladrang **Sri Karongron**	Slendro sanga	4	1979/2012
Ladrang **Srikatok**	Slendro manyura	1	1997
Ladrang **Sri Katon**	Slendro manyura	2	1999/2007
Sri Katon	Slendro manyura	2	1980/2013
Ladrang **Sri Rejeki (30)**	Pelog nem	2	2007/2015
Ketawang **Subakastawa**	Slendro sanga	2	1999/2014
Subakastawa	Slendro sanga	2	1980/1982
Bawa Swara **Sudirawicitra**	Pelog nem	2	2006/2008
Ketawang **Sukma Ilang***	Slendro manyura	3	1997/2007
Sukma Ilang	Slendro manyura	2	1980/2013
Sulanjana	None listed	1	1982
Sulung Dhayung	Pelog nem	1	1982
Ketawang **Sumedhang**	Pelog nem Slendro sanga	4	1991/2013
Ladrang **Sumyar**	Pelog barang	3	1980/2015
Gendhing Sumyar	Slendro manyura	1	2015
Ladrang **Surung Dhayung**	Pelog nem	1	2007
Susilo Suite	None listed	1	2015
Dolanan **Suwe Ora Jamu**	None listed	2	1980/1990
Lancaran **Tahu Tempe**	Pelog nem	2	1977/2011
Ketawang **Tarupala**	Slendro sanga	1	2013
Tejasari	Pelog lima	2	1982/2006
Tropongan	None listed	1	1985
Lancaran **Tropongbang**	Pelog lima Pelog nem	2	1997/2016
Tropongbang	Pelog lima Pelog nem	2	1971/1980
Gending Bonang **Tukung (50)**	Pelog barang	3	1984/2016

Gendhing **Tunggul**	Pelog barang	2**	1982
Lancaran **Udan Angin**	Slendro sanga	1	2002
Bubaran **Udan Mas**	Pelog barang Pelog nem	2	1977/2012
Lancaran Udan Mas	Pelog nem Pelog lima	2	1990/2009
Ladrang **Utama**	Slendro sanga	1	2014
Dolanan **Walang Kekek**	None listed	1	1980
Ladrang **Westminster**	Slendro sanga	1	2002
Gendhing **Widosari**	Slendro manyura	3	1980/2007
Ladrang **Wilujeng**	Pelog lima Pelog barang	2	2012/2014
Wiramataya	None listed	1	1985
Yening Tawang (261)	Pelog nem	1	1991

*There are some spelling discrepancies in the UHJGE's concert programs. Some list this piece as Sukma Ilang and others as Suksma Ilang. Given that the program notes describing these pieces are practically identical, it is safe to assume these are the same pieces.

**These pieces were performed more than once in a single year.

^The 2002 concert program lists this as a "Gara-Gara Medley" and does not list individual pieces.

Glossary

Alok	Short vocal phrases inserted into a gamelan piece, usually by male singers, to enhance the mood
Balungan	The gamelan melody that is most usually notated
Ceilidh	A Scottish social event with music and dancing
Dangdut	A genre of Indonesian popular music with Indian and Malay influences
Dhalang	Master Javanese puppeteer
Gangsaran	A formal structure of gendhing characterized by a repeated, one-note melody
Garap	Idiosyncratic ways each gamelan instrument appropriately realizes the balungan
Gendhing	1) Generic term for a piece of gamelan music; 2) A large formal structure
Gerongan	Male or mixed chorus in Javanese gamelan
Kabaya	Javanese blouse for women
Kain	Large piece of cloth worn as a long skirt by both men and women in Java
Karawitan	Gamelan instrumental and vocal music
Kecak	Balinese vocal gamelan
Keplok	Interlocking clapping used in gamelan
Ketawang	A formal structure of gendhing characterized by a 16-beat gong cycle with two kenongan per gongan
Klenengan	Gamelan music/playing for listening (also called uyon-uyon)
Komposisi	From the English word "composition;" refers to more radical techniques that avoid traditional forms and practices in Java
Konde	Large bun of fake hair worn by female gamelan players and dancers
Kotekan	Interlocking melodic part in Balinese gamelan
Kraton	Javanese Palace
Kreasi baru	"New creation;" gamelan compositions that hold more closely to traditional forms and methods
Ladrang	A formal structure of gendhing characterized by a 32-beat gong cycle
Lancaran	A formal structure of gendhing characterized by a 8-beat gong cycle with two kenongan per gongan
Pibroch	Vocalizations of Scottish Highland bagpipe music
Psindhen	Female Javanese vocal soloist
Selamatan	Ritual, communal meal in Java
Seleh	Ending or arrival notes in Javanese gamelan musical theory
Stagen	A woman's waist sash worn in Java
Talu	Single or multiple gendhing played as an introduction or overture to wayang kulit
Topeng	Balinese or Javanese masked dance
Uyon-uyon	Gamelan music played for listening; background music
Wayang kulit	Javanese shadow puppet plays

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Interviews

All interviews were conducted with the author. This list only includes formal interviews.

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Carlin, Mark. Personal interview. Glasgow, September 10, 2015.

Chaturvedi, Amit. Personal interview. Honolulu, April 14, 2015.

Craig, Eona. Personal interview. Glasgow, November 13, 2014.

Diercks, Thelma. Personal interview. Honolulu, May 1, 2015.

Dunn, Patricia. Personal interview. Honolulu, April 22, 2015.

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Jakobsdottir, Signy. Personal interview. Glasgow, November 14, 2014.

Keliehor, Jon. Personal interview. Glasgow, October 21, 2015.

Knight, Malcolm and Jon Keliehor. Personal interview. Glasgow, December 5, 2014.

MacKinnon, Gordon. Personal interview. Glasgow, November 24, 2014.

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Moon, Byron. Personal interview. Honolulu, April 29, 2015.

Polk, Barbara. Personal interview. Honolulu, April 23, 2015.

Pragnell, Sophie. Personal interview. Glasgow, November 11, 2014.

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Remus, William. Personal interview. Honolulu, April 16, 2015.

Ritchie, Ian. Personal interview. Glasgow, October 14, 2015.

Smith, Barbara. Personal interview. Honolulu, April 16, 2015.

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Tschudi, Daniel. Personal interview. Honolulu, April 25, 2015.

Van der Walt, J. Simon. Personal interview. Glasgow, December 1, 2014.

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Waumsley, Katherine. Personal interview. Glasgow, November 15, 2014.

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Wells, Neil. Personal interview. Glasgow, September 22, 2015.

Whitmer, Bill. Personal interview. Glasgow, December 3, 2014.

———. Personal interview. Glasgow, October 16, 2015.

Concert Programs - Hawai‘i

These citations represent not only program notes included in each concert program but also the concert programs themselves. It was rarely indicated who wrote the program notes, so the majority of citations start with the name of the concert. Where program note authors were indicated, I have included a separate citation. Because so many of the concert titles are similar—or indeed, exactly the same—the concert programs below are in chronological order rather than alphabetized. In cases of multiple concerts in a year, the earliest one is listed first (i.e., a year with concerts in February, June, and December will be listed in that order).

Also, as was detailed in the body of this dissertation, it was not until the 1980s that the ensemble began referring to itself by a cohesive name. Prior to that, the participants were listed as "Musicians," "Dancers," or "Characters" depending on the concert. As such, the initial citations do not include an ensemble name unless one is specified. Also, the programs sometimes omit the okina from Hawai‘i. I have left the names in the individual citations exactly as they were printed in the programs.

Gamelan "Kyai Gandrung" (The Venerable One in Love) Court Ensemble of Central Java. Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Music Complex, Room 36, April 5, 7, and 8, 1972.

Indonesia: Sendra Tari Ramayana. Students of Javanese Gamelan and Javanese Dance. Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Orvis Auditorium Courtyard, April 19, 20, and 21, 1973.

The Death of Suwandageni. Hardja Susilo. Pearl City: Leeward Community College Theater, September 24, 1974.

Indonesian Dance Drama. Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: New Music Building Courtyard, March 15, 1975.

Javanese Dance Drama: Arjuna Wiwaha. Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: New Music Courtyard, July 13, 14, 16, and 17, 1976.

A Concert of Javanese Gamelan and Dance. Roger Vetter. Honolulu: Music Department Courtyard, April 23 and 24, 1977.

Javanese Gamelan and Dance. Peggy Choy, Byron Moon, R. Anderson Sutton, and Roger Vetter. Honolulu: Music Courtyard, August 14 and 16, 1977.

Javanese Gamelan Music and Dance. Hardja Susilo and Roger Vetter. Honolulu: Music Department Courtyard, April 7, 1978.

Ramayana Dance Drama: Hanuman Duta. Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Music Department, July 30 and August 6, 1978.

Ramayana Dance Drama: Bedhah Alengka. Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Music Department, July 31 and August 7, 1978.

Javanese Gamelan Music and Dance. Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Music Department Courtyard, February 10, 1979.

A Concert of Javanese Gamelan and Dance. University of Hawaii Gamelan Club. Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Gamelan Courtyard, April 20, 1980.

Wayang Kulit: Wiratha Parwa. University of Hawaii Gamelan Club. Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Kennedy Theatre, June 20, 21, and 22, 1980.

"Hints on being a Wayang Kulit Audience." Program notes for *Wayang Kulit: Wiratha Parwa.* University of Hawaii Gamelan Club. Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Kennedy Theatre, June 20, 21, and 22, 1980.

Javanese Concert. U.H. Gamelan Ensemble. Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Gamelan Courtyard, November 20, 1980.

East West Center Performing Arts Series: Javanese Gamelan Ensemble. Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Sheraton Waikiki, May 4, 1982.

A Concert of Javanaese Music and Dance. Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Gamelan Courtyard, November 20, 1982.

Javanese Gamelan Ensemble. Byron Moon. Honolulu: Music Department Courtyard, November 24, 1984.

An Evening of Javanese Music and Dance. Gamelan Kyahi Gandrung and Gamelan Budi Daya. Byron Moon and Richard North. Honolulu: Music Department Courtyard, April 27, 1985.

Javanese Court Dance and Gamelan Music. The University of Hawaii Gamelan Club. Hardja Susilo. July 12, 1986.

Javanese Dance and Gamelan Music. Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Music Department Courtyard, June 27, 1987.

Court Music and Dance of Central Java. University of Hawaii Gamelan Ensemble. Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Music Department Courtyard, April 8, 1989.

The University of Hawai'i Gamelan Ensemble in a concert of Javanese Music and Dance. The Gamelan Ensemble. Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Hawai'i Imin International Conference Center, April 7 and 8, 1990.

Javanese Gamelan Music for Dance and Theater. University of Hawai'i Gamelan Ensemble.

Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Music Department Courtyard, November 3, 1990.

Music and Dance of Java. University of Hawai‘i Gamelan Ensemble. Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Music Department Outdoor Courtyard, June 14 and 15, 1991.

Shadow Puppets of Java: Wayang Kulit and Gamelan Music. The KIAS Wayang Group and the UH Gamelan Ensemble. S. Suhartoyo and Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Andrews Outdoor Theatre, June 28 and 29, 1991.

Javanese Music and Dance. University of Hawai‘i Gamelan Ensemble. Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Music Department Outdoor Courtyard, November 23, 1991.

Javanese Music and Dance. University of Hawai‘i Gamelan Ensemble. Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Music Department Outdoor Courtyard, April 18, 1992.

Javanese Music and Dance, and Balinese Wayang Kulit. University of Hawaii Gamelan Ensemble. Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Music Department Courtyard, November 28, 1992.

The Death of Kangsadewa. University of Hawai‘i Gamelan Ensemble. Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Music Department Courtyard, April 10, 1993.

A Concert of Music and Dance of Central Java. University of Hawai‘i Gamelan Ensemble. Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Music Department Courtyard, August 27, 1994.

Wayang Kulit: The Birth of Gathutkaca. UH Gamelan Ensemble. Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: UHM Music Department Courtyard, November 25, 1994.

Wayang Kulit: Brajadhenta Revolts. UH Gamelan Ensemble. Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: UHM Music Department Courtyard, November 26, 1994.

A Concert of Javanese Music and Dance. University of Hawai‘i Gamelan Ensemble. Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Music Department Courtyard, March 22, 1997.

A Concert of Javanese Music and Dance. University of Hawai‘i Gamelan Ensemble. Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Music Courtyard, November 22, 1997.

Ramayana Dance Drama. The UH Gamelan Ensemble. Hardja Susilo and I Dewa Putu Berata. Pearl City: Leeward Community College Theatre, April 25 and 26, 1998.

Javanese Theater Music. University of Hawaii Gamelan Ensemble. Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Music Department Courtyard, April 25, 1999.

Hanuman the Messenger. UH Gamelan Ensemble. Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Orvis Auditorium, March 17 and 18, 2000.

Music and Dance of Java and Bali. UH Gamelan Ensemble. Hardja Susilo and Wayne Vitale. Honolulu: April 6, 2002.

Gamelan Music of Java. University of Hawai‘i Javanese Gamelan Ensemble. Byron Moon and Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Barbara B. Smith Amphitheater, October 28, 2006.

Gamelan Music of Java. University of Hawai‘i Javanese Gamelan Ensemble. Byron Moon and Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Barbara B. Smith Amphitheater, April 28, 2007.

Gamelan Music of Java & Bali. University of Hawai‘i Balinese Gamelan Ensemble and University of Hawai‘i Javanese Gamelan Ensemble. I Nyoman Sumandhi, Byron Moon, and Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Barbara B. Smith Amphitheater, December 1, 2007.

Gamelan Music of Java and Bali. University of Hawai‘i Gamelan Ensemble. Byron Moon and Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Barbara B. Smith Amphitheater, December 6, 2008.

Gamelan Music of Java and Bali. University of Hawai‘i Gamelan Ensemble. Byron Moon and Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Barbara B. Smith Amphitheater, May 2, 2009.

Babad Alas Mrentani. UH Gamelan Ensemble. Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Mae Zenke Orvis Auditorium, November 28, 2009.

Gamelan Music of Java and Bali. University of Hawai‘i Balinese Gamelan Ensemble and University of Hawai‘i Javanese Gamelan Ensemble. I Made Widana, Byron Moon, and Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Barbara B. Smith Amphitheater, April 24, 2010.

Traditional and Contemporary Works for Javanese and Balinese Gamelan. UH Javanese Gamelan Ensemble and UH Balinese Gamelan Ensemble. Byron Moon, Hardja Susilo, and I Made Widana. Honolulu: Barbara B. Smith Amphitheater, April 23, 2011.

Traditional and Contemporary Works for Javanese and Balinese Gamelan. UH Javanese Gamelan Ensemble and UH Balinese Gamelan Ensemble. Byron Moon, Hardja Susilo, and I Made Widana. Honolulu: Barbara B. Smith Amphitheater, November 19, 2011.

Music for Javanese and Balinese Gamelan. UH Javanese Gamelan Ensemble and UH Balinese Gamelan Ensemble. Byron Moon, Hardja Susilo, and I Made Widana. Honolulu: Barbara B. Smith Amphitheater, April 21, 2012.

Music for Javanese and Balinese Gamelan. UH Javanese Gamelan Ensemble and UH Balinese Gamelan Ensemble. Byron Moon, Hardja Susilo, and I Made Widana. Honolulu: Barbara B. Smith Amphitheater, November 17, 2012.

Gamelan Music of Java and Bali. University of Hawaii Gamelan Ensembles. Byron Moon, Hardja Susilo, and I Made Widana. Honolulu: Barbara B. Smith Amphitheater, April 20, 2013.

Gamelan Music of Java. University of Hawaii Gamelan Ensemble. Byron Moon and Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Barbara B. Smith Amphitheater, November 23, 2013.

Gamelan Music of Java. University of Hawaii Gamelan Ensemble. Byron Moon and Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Barbara B. Smith Amphitheater, April 19, 2014.

Cup of Java: Gamelan Music and Dance from Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Institut Seni Indonesia Yogakarta and the University of Hawai‘i Javanese Gamelan Ensemble. Anon Suneko, Byron Moon, and Hardja Susilo. Honolulu: Bakken Auditorium, Mid-Pacific Institute, November 22, 2014.

A Concert in Memory of Pak Hardja Susilo (1934-2015). University of Hawaii Gamelan Ensembles. I Made Sumayasa, I Made Widana, and Byron Moon. Honolulu: Barbara B. Smith Amphitheater, April 18, 2015.

Gamelan Music of Bali and Java. UH Balinese Gamelan Ensemble and UH Javanese Gamelan Ensemble. I Made Widana, Anna Reynolds, and Byron Moon. Honolulu: Barbara B. Smith Amphitheater, November 21, 2015.

Gamelan Music of Bali & Java. UH Balinese Gamelan Ensemble and UH Javanese Gamelan Ensemble. I Made Widana, Anna Reynolds, and Byron Moon. Honolulu: Barbara B. Smith Amphitheater, April 16, 2016.

Gamelan Java – Gamelan Bali. UH Javanese Gamelan Ensemble and UH Balinese Gamelan Ensemble. Byron Moon, I Made Widana, and Anna Reynolds. Honolulu: Barbara B. Smith Amphitheater, November 19, 2016.

Concert Programs – Scotland

Hexham Abbey Festival. Gamelan Naga Mas. Hexham, Northumberland: Hexham Abbey, September 22, 2006.

Gamelan Untethered. Gamelan Naga Mas. Glasgow: The Old Hairdressers Bar and Gallery, December 13, 2014.

Gamelan Untethered. Gamelan Naga Mas. Glasgow: The Royal Conservatoire of Scotland, September 9, 2015.

Discover Indonesia. Cryptic. Glasgow: September 9-13, 2015.

Scottish Bali & Iron Pipes. Gamelan Naga Mas. Signy Jakobsdottir and Mags Smith.

Preface

[1] A formal structure of *gendhing* characterized by a 16-beat gong cycle with four *kenongan* per *gongan*
[2] Large, upright stones found in Scotland, Ireland, and England.

Chapter 1

[1] Just as Christopher Small (1998) suggested we consider turning music into a verb (musicking), I am applying the same treatment to "gamelan."
[2] The major exception is Maria Mendonça's 2002 dissertation, which I address more in Chapter 3.
[3] The *kain* is a large piece of cloth, worn as a skirt by both men and women. The style of wearing the *kain* is different for the different sexes: women's *kains* must cover their ankles and be wrapped in a cone-shape, with the apex at the feet. Men's *kains* are looser and slightly higher, terminating just above the ankle.
[4] The *stagen* is a woman's waist sash. It is wrapped around the body very tightly, beginning at the hips and ending just under the breasts.
[5] A ritual or celebratory traditional meal in Indonesia.
[6] A woman's blouse.
[7] *Konde* are large fake hair pieces worn on top of one's own hair. As most women in Java have black hair, black is the traditional color.
[8] Javanese shadow puppet plays.
[9] A form of vocal gamelan which emphasizes very close interlocking parts.
[10] One might argue the sights and sounds of England and America as well. Matthew Cohen, the *dhalang*, has an unmistakably American accent. The entire performance, with the exception of some of the songs the psindhen sang, was conducted in English. Several puppets, including the TARDIS from *Dr. Who* and a recreation of Neil Sorrell himself, represented England on the shadow screen.
[11] Perlman 1994; Sumarsam 1995 and 2015; Diamond 1992 and 1998; Solís 2004; Cohen 2007 and 2010; Mendonça 2010 and 2011; House 2014; Spiller 2015, among others.
[12] With a very strong focus on England
[13] This may be explained by the perception that the UH Javanese Gamelan Ensemble as it stands today grew out of the upper-level gamelan class that used to be offered at the university. The status and reality of that class is questioned by those involved with the UHJGE (see Chapter 4).
[14] For more information on these topics, see Bigenho 2012, Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000, Cohen 2010, Deschênes 2005, Kelly 2004, McGraw 2016, Root 1996, Sorrell 2007, Spiller 2015.
[15] The two exceptions appear to be Maria Mendonça's 2011 article on Babar Layar, the "first long-term European gamelan group" (56) and I Nyoman Wenten's 1996 dissertation *The Creative World of Ki Wasitodipuro: The Life and Work of a Javanese Gamelan Composer*.
[16] For example, the 2014 petition to save the gamelan in Ann Arbor, Michigan; Gamelan *Tunas Mekar's* project to celebrate their 25th anniversary with a documentary on their history in Boulder, Colorado; Gavin Ryan's Indiegogo campaign to start a community gamelan in Idaho; and Jordi Casadevall's proud 2013 announcement of the first "public gamelan in Spain".
[17] As Marcus writes, "Multi-sited ethnographies inevitably are the product of knowledge bases of varying intensities and qualities" (1995, 100). This is true of my experiences with Naga Mas and the UHJGE.
[18] These refer to specific forms of Javanese gamelan music. See Glossary
[19] House quotes Sorrell: "'pale pastiche': aping easily-grasped aspects of Javanese gamelan music without fully understanding their implications, and drawing upon such structures without bringing anything new to the picture" (2014, 75-6).
[20] Gendhing can refer to a specific form of gamelan music. It is also used as a general term to mean any piece of gamelan music.
[21] See for example Steven Feld's "Sweet Lullaby for World Music" (2000) and "My Life in the Bush of Ghosts: 'World Music' and the Commodification of Religious Experience" (2011)
[22] This attitude also, as Elizabeth Clendinning (2013) points out, negates the possibility of affinity communities in Indonesia.
[23] See also: Judith Arcana 1993; Dan Goodley et al 2004; Hamilton Holt 1906/2000; Pano Rodis, Andrew Garrod, and Mary Lynn Boscardin 2001.
[24] Most of my research was more participant than observation, as I was always invited to join in the classes and workshops, sometimes as just another player, other times as a helper or co-leader.

[25] These terms are used in the context of Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition* (1983) and Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1983, 1991, 2006).
[26] They do share a few traditional Javanese gamelan pieces in common, for example "Ricik-Ricik," "Bendrong," "Gangsaran," and "Subakastawa." Their treatment of these pieces differs with the UHJGE usually playing these pieces as part of a suite or at the very least paired with another piece, and Naga Mas playing these as individual pieces.

Chapter 2

[1] Indeed, Benjamin Brinner's interest in Javanese gamelan musical competence (1995), Marc Perlman's theorization of unplayed melodies (2004), and Marc Benamou's work on rasa (2010) are testaments to the seemingly inexhaustible depths of "traditional" gamelan music.
[2] Ethnomusicology began with the exploration of music divided into three rough musical categories, which Bruno Nettl identified as "Oriental" (or the music of high cultures), folk, and primitive (1956).
[3] *"Traditional* music and musical instruments of all cultural strata of mankind, from the so-called primitive peoples to the civilized nations. Our science, therefore, investigates all tribal and folk music and every kind of non-Western art music. Besides, it studies as well the sociological aspects of music, as well as the phenomena of musical acculturation, i.e. the hybridizing influence of alien musical elements. Western art- and popular (entertainment-) music do not belong to its field" (Kunst 1959, 1; emphasis in original)
[4] One of these musicians was Hardja Susilo, a Javanese gamelan musician and dancer, who worked with Hood at UCLA and later at the University of Hawaii at Mānoa.
[5] The Hawaii Gamelan Society (HGS) is a non-profit organization created and maintained by members of the UH Javanese Gamelan Ensemble and functions separately from the university. It is explained in more detail in the following chapter.
[6] Sumarsam did identify three, fairly flexible categories of gamelan: 1) those affiliated with a university; 2) those completely unaffiliated with a university; and 3) a mixture of both. His final statement, however, implies that, in his experience, most gamelan groups are affiliated with a university in some capacity.
[7] House's inclusion of Clive Wilkinson's collaborative works and Margaret Smith and Barnaby Brown's devised work is more the exception that proves the rule.
[8] As I explore in Chapters 5 and 6, this is a particular view of creativity that emphasizes an end product (i.e., composition) over artistic process.
[9] This idea is related to Christopher Miller's (2005) description of Clifford Geertz's suggestion that there are, in fact, three levels of identity at play when studying the other: Us, Them, and those who try to be Them. My experience, described above, does not map perfectly onto Geertz's contention but, like Miller/Geertz, suggests more than a simple binary.
[10] This is explored as negotiated agency more fully in Chapter 5.
[11] Here, "happening" does not necessarily refer to a single incident but can refer to an individual's or institution's actions or to a lengthy temporal period that may include many events. It may also refer to priority or attitudinal changes within the gamelan groups. Additionally, I posit eight individual but related happenings for each community group. This number was not makde the same for purposes of comparsion but instead simply emerged for both Naga Mas and the UHJGE.
[12] This is evidenced through the fact that multiple people independently mention these happenings.
[13] The other three are in Edinburgh (Moray House Institute, University of Edinburgh), Aberdeen (Northern College), and the Shetland Islands. None of these other sets are in regular use, although Naga Mas member Katherine Waumsley initiated a sixteen-week gamelan course at the University of Edinburgh in September, 2015.
[14] This is according to Ritchie.
[15] SRC Policy and Resources Committee, "A Post 1990 Cultural Policy for the Regional Council" report, 2.
[16] SRC report, 3
[17] SRC report, 4
[18] I am very grateful for Joan Suyenaga's help and input on this project. Through various capacities, she is connected to both the Gamelan Spirit of Hope and the UH Javanese Gamelan Ensemble. Her information and recollections regarding the histories of both these communities has been extremely valuable.
[19] In a follow up from Joan Suyenaga, she claims it was Cook's five pence piece the carvers used for the thistle design.
[20] Current Head of Lifelong Learning and Widening Access at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland, Eona Craig also worked with the SCO's office in Glasgow up to and during the 1990 Year of Culture.

[21] Ritchie noted that, between 1986 and 1990, the cost of an iron gamelan made by Suhirdjan was $5,000 US dollars. It cost the SRC Social Work Department another $5,000 to have the gamelan shipped from Java to Glasgow.
[22] http://www.cca-glasgow.com/about-cca/cultural-tenants
[23] As I understand them, "come-and-try" workshops were similar to "one-off" workshops, in that they were short-term, usually one-time occurrences, where the general public was encouraged to come and try out the gamelan instruments. The workshops could be anywhere from a half hour to two hours long, with the participants getting a very general introduction to what a gamelan is, where it comes from, and how it is used in Glasgow.
[24] J. Simon van der Walt recently commented on this name, attributing it to "the very distinctive pronunciation of the North East of Scotland . . . we were apparently introduce [sic] on an Aberdeen radio station as 'The Gay Melons'" (p.c. 1/27/17)
[25] Large gong
[26] Akademi Seni Tari Indonesia
[27] Nevertheless, gamelan members did compose some new works for the gamelan during the 1990s. One piece that has remained in Naga Mas' repertoire is "Gamelunk," composed by J. Simon van der Walt in 1997. This piece is analyzed in detail in Chapter 5.
[28] "Additional Support Needs" is the phrasing used by Education Scotland and other institutions to describe both children and adults with learning disabilities, physical or developmental problems, and/or at-risk or marginalized groups.
[29] To avoid confusion with Hardja Susilo, I will use Joko to refer to Joko Susilo and Susilo to refer to Hardja Susilo. This also reflects how community members referred to these men.
[30] Other *wayang* performances by Naga Mas included *Sendratari Wayang*, which was performed at the Diwali Festival and toured Glasgow and Edinburgh; a *Ramayana* performance at Tramway and the Scottish Mask and Puppet Centre; another *Ramayana* performance as part of the Puppet and Animation Festival that featured contemporary Indonesian shadow puppetry; and *Sendratari Ramayana*, which involved both *wayang kulit* and *wayang wong*.
[31] Smith explained that their piece "Iron Pipes," discussed elsewhere and analyzed in great detail by Ginevra House (2014), was an example of a devised piece. Smith brought in a melody, Waumsley suggested an 11-beat "cell," and bagpiper Barnaby Brown worked out a third section. These sections were then workshopped with the entire gamelan group over an intensive weekend. Smith eschews the title composer of this piece, insisting it is a devised piece created by the entire ensemble. Smith's stance is explored more fully in Chapter 5.
[32] A genre of Indonesian popular music
[33] Masked dance
[34] Hammered zither
[35] Part of this event was described in Chapter 1. I also return to this event for a detailed analysis of the music in Chapter 5.
[36] Naga Mas' official legal position is an unincorporated association. They are run by a volunteer committee which consists of a convener, a secretary, and a treasurer.
[37] Other performers included: Kande (an Acehnese "world music" group), Senyawa (a progressive, punk/avant-garde group from Yogyakarta), and the Papermoon Puppet Theatre which used both *wayang kulit* and Teater Boneka.
[38] http://www.creativescotland.com/
[39] From 1985-1992, Richard North's Cirebon gamelan, *Budi Daya*, was resident at Hawai'i Loa College (now part of Hawaii Pacific University). Nancy Cooper also privately owns a set of gamelan instruments, but these are rarely used.
[40] Some have suggested that Susilo is, in fact, *the* first.
[41] Gillett worked with Smith at UHM to build the multi-ethnic music program and to build connections between UHM and local teachers.
[42] Now known as the National Association for Music Education, NAfME
[43] A specific type of cloth used for Javanese clothing and decorative prints.
[44] Until presently, the donor of the funds for purchasing the gamelan instruments has remained anonymous. Although many members of the UHJGE knew that Barbara Smith contributed greatly to their work in many capacities, including giving the money for the instruments, all printed references to the sources of the funds for the purchase of *Kyai Gandrung* have been to an anonymous foundation. Smith has kindly given her permission for her connection with it to be stated here.

[45] There is a date written on the back of the gongs in Javanese script which says 1838. Nona Kurniani Norris, an Indonesian and Javanese language teacher, believes this comes from the Gregorian calendar, not the Javanese calendar, which would make the large gong 178 years old.
[46] Sri Dewi is the Javanese goddess of rice and fertility.
[47] And later *Segara Madu*, the Balinese *gong kebyar* instruments.
[48] This generosity was certainly evidenced following Susilo's retirement as he continued to lead the UHJGE and give lessons without remuneration by the university.
[49] *Uyon-uyon* is a term that refers to music that is just for listening (as opposed to music for dance or to accompany theater). *Mahalo nui* means "thank you very much" in Hawaiian.
[50] A large outdoor pavilion that is open on all sides.
[51] Bennington, program notes for the 20th anniversary concert, June 1991.
[52] Despite this, this piece has never been revived, nor did Susilo collaborate on other, similar Western compositions.
[53] See Chapter 6 and Appendix 2 for more detail
[54] In their literature, the Hawaii Gamelan Society does not use an okina.
[55] Again, if it ever did.
[56] The *gongs*, *kenong*, *kempul*, *sarons*, *slenthem*, and *bonangs*
[57] The *gender*, *gambang*, *rebab*, and *celempung*
[58] In the conclusion to Chapter 8, I briefly mention Jody Diamond's concept of American Gamelan Music and suggest several parallels between this and Naga Mas' approach to music making.

Chapter 3

[1] "charmed circles of like-minded music-makers drawn magnetically to a certain genre that creates strong expressive bonding" (2000, 98)
[2] In the United Kingdom, one can receive a degree in music with an emphasis in Community Music. Community Music is identified, by practitioners, as a profession and an institution and is, therefore often capitalized. In the literature on Community Music, which is also often abbreviated CM, there does not seem to be a standard for capitalizing "community musician." Throughout this dissertation, I will capitalize Community Music, use CM, and leave community musician in lower case.
[3] Veblen's explanation of her fifth issue—interplays between informal and formal contexts—is terse, and her application of "informal" and "formal" rather vague. For these reasons, I do not include it in my own exploration of priorities here except to suggest that it may be possible to apply these descriptors to the previous four issues to expand their applicability and dimensions. We might consider formal and informal types of music and music-making (e.g., concerts vs. rehearsals vs. jam sessions and workshops) as well as how formality may apply to individual or communal intentions, participants, and teaching, learning, and interactions. This widens the scope for analyzing the makeup and output of musical affinity communities. These implications are explored further in Chapter 7 as part of the dimensions of affinity.
[4] See Chapter 6 pg. 252 for a discussion on the differences.
[5] Susilo did arrange some pieces, particularly "Ampyak" and "Pongang" which use "Balinese-inspired (and possibly Balinese-derived) but not borrowed" (p.c. R. Anderson Sutton 3/24/17) *reyong* parts, and "Campuh," which combined Javanese gamelan and Balinese beleganjur. As mentioned in Chapter 2, he also co-wrote the concerto *Parables of Kyai Gandrung* with composer Neil McKay. It is not these pieces, however, that the UHJGE consistently play or talk about when discussing the repertoire of their group.
[6] *Karawitan* refers to all instrumental and vocal gamelan music.
[7] Those that joined in the early 1990s
[8] Lueck also suggests further differentiation (e.g., process vs. performance orientation, rehearsals and performances geared to students vs. geared toward members' needs or community opportunities). She even notes that academic gamelan groups may include community members who can "gradually increase the overall performance level" (25).
[9] This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. For more in-depth discussions of Susilo's pedagogy, see also Diamond 1984, Solís 2004, and Susilo 2010.
[10] Several UHJGE members also related the efforts of regular concert attendee and retired anthropologist, the late Alice Dewey, who would always sit front and center with a yellow poncho before gamelan concerts to ensure clear, dry weather.
[11] These interpretations are also not mutually exclusive.
[12] Various people have described the sounds of *Kyai Gandrung* as like nothing they had/have ever heard before. Unlike Naga Mas, however, they do not combine those sounds with Western (or any other kind of) instruments to create new music.

[13] As is demonstrated in Chapter 6, a portion of the UHJGE's repertoire—while popular in the 20th century—is much older, dating back to at least the 18th and 19th centuries. This is another way age and history contributes to their sense of identity.
[14] This is also in light of acknowledging that the music they play is not necessarily what is played in Java anymore.
[15] This student's abrasive attitude also did not endear him to the community group.
[16] Except, perhaps, to reinforce the ideals already instilled by Susilo.
[17] "We thus encounter the paradox that the *experience* of communitas becomes the *memory* of communitas, with the result that communitas itself in striving to replicate itself historically develops a social structure, in which initially free and innovative relationships between individuals are converted into norm-governed relationships between social *personae* . . . when this communitas or *comitas* is institutionalized, the new-found idiosyncratic is legislated into yet another set of universalistic roles and statuses, whose incumbents must subordinate individuality to a rule" (Turner 1982, 47; italics in original).
[18] This she relates to Turner's notions of spontaneous and normative *communitas*. She then identifies "musical sociability" and "sociable musicality" as two key ingredients required to achieve *communitas* in the context of gamelan outside of Indonesia; these represent "the blurring between social and musical aspects of gamelan (which characterises [sic] communitas as experienced by interviewees)" (2002, 41).
[19] I include here rehearsals and jam sessions as well as concerts and shows.
[20] Roger and Val Mau Vetter, Byron and Wendy Moon, Gary Dunn and Pattie Najita Dunn, Robert Herr and Michiko Ueno-Herr, and R. Anderson Sutton and Peggy Choy.
[21] Indonesian word for village or community
[22] And not even just the first-wave members, as he included me in this
[23] Indeed, even as Chaturvedi noted that the UHJGE, as a community, was not "warm and fuzzy," other members found those aspects vital to the idea of community itself.
[24] For this work, I was unable to speak with participants of the UHJGE who joined after Susilo's passing. I hope in future to add these distinctive voices to this narrative on community.
[25] Here, I mean those living within the state of Hawai'i and not necessarily only those of native Hawaiian ancestry.
[26] Now current members of Naga Mas
[27] See, for example, pg. 99.
[28] For obvious reasons, all these individuals asked to remain anonymous.
[29] Chapter 1 describes Mark Slobin's industrial, diasporic, and affinity intercultures, for example.
[30] Shelemay. 2011. "Musical Communities: Rethinking the Collective in Music." *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 64 (2): 376.
[31] http://bradymyc.blogspot.com/
[32] http://www.americanistan.com/id60.html
[33] This particular wording reminds me of a line from Roger and Hammerstein's *South Pacific*. In "Some Enchanted Evening," the lead male, Emile, sings: "When you find your true love, when you feel her call you across a crowded room . . ." Michael Campbell has suggested that this song's "lush orchestration, expansive form, and above all its soaring melody" facilitate "[lingering] in the moment" of *immediate infatuation* (2008, 132). Whether Slobin intended this reference or not, the connection is suggestive.
[34] http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/3417?redirectedFrom=affinity#eid It is interesting to note that the definitions do not continue in this vein. The eighth entry describes chemical attraction; the tenth entry describes the term's meaning in mathematics; and the eleventh entry considers affinity in terms of proximity.

Chapter 4

[1] See Chapter 8 gamelaning
[2] This chapter will focus on teaching styles and dressing; music will be examined in closer detail in Chapters 5 and 6.
[3] This is mainly the "ums," "ers," etc. that people use all the time in spoken dialog.
[4] As indicated above, this and the following life stories have been left intentionally as unedited as possible.
[5] In recent communication with Diercks, she revealed that she has had to leave the gamelan group. She did not specify the reason.
[6] Linde does, however, provide detailed subcategories for each coherence principle.
[7] *Tumbuk* refers to a pitch that is the same in the *pelog* and *slendro* tunings of a set of gamelan instruments. Larry Polansky (1990) notes that the most common *tumbuk* pitches are 2, 5, and 6. So, for example, on Spirit of Hope, *slendro* 6 is the same pitch as *pelog* 6. The *tumbuk* pitch is used to switch smoothly between *pelog* and *slendro* tuning systems during performance.

[8] Commom Wheel is a Scottish Charitable Incorporated Organization whose mission is to "improve mental wellbeing, increase skills and reduce isolation through the provision of supported, meaningful activities for people with mental illness and dementia" (http://www.commonwheel.org.uk/).
[9] Hardja Susilo in Solís 2004
[10] See also Chapter 1, pg. 4 and Chapter 6 pg. 259-60
[11] See Chapter 8 gamelaning pg. 302
[12] It is also, perhaps, worthwhile to consider play in addition to performance here, as Carlson notes that play may be a ludic display of communal values and beliefs. One of my interlocutors, who asked to remain anonymous, exemplifies this approach to play when describing their perception of the word:

> For myself, the focus of my teaching . . . I think the primary thing . . . I'm not sure if teaching is about learning . . . it's more of an experience. It's primarily fun . . . it's playing. A musical instrument is something you *play*. That's the right verb. You play with it. (emphasis in original)

This approach is evident in all of this person's interactions with gamelan, and it has become part of Naga Mas' current philosophy of being a community gamelan. In this sense, play may be both serious and frivolous.
[13] Music for listening
[14] This hesitation was also expressed by several of the gamelan players interviewed by Mendonça (2002).
[15] These venues range from pubs to botanical gardens to cafes to schools. Very rarely does Naga Mas perform on a dedicated theatrical stage where certain members feel that Javanese formal dress might be appropriate.
[16] I am very grateful to Ricardo Trimillos for his succinct and insightful descriptions of these different forms of dress.
[17] While this is true of Susilo within the gamelan itself, this is not to say he ever stopped learning. Many of his students commented on his proclivity for trying new things (e.g., musics and languages).
[18] Marc Benamou defines *garap* as "treatment, working out, interpretation, musical arrangement, version, details of performance practice chosen for or associated with a particular piece, performance practice in general" (2010, 235)
[19] This is my differentiation. Linde does not mention a distinction between internal and external coherence systems.
[20] This negotiation, in the form of invested authority, is explored further in Chapter 6.
[21] This is how Waumsley described it. It is possible the group of youngsters were thinking of the Chinese lion dance, but that is not clear.

Chapter 5

[1] This is not an exhaustive list of Naga Mas' repertoire but rather one selected by the author based on members' memories of repertoire and archival materials. This list is, I feel, representative of the general scope of Naga Mas' musical output.
[2] I had originally planned to color-code this list in order to better indicate certain differences, for example when a piece utilized Western or Scottish instruments. I have been advised that, in certain instances, colors do not show up on final versions of dissertations. In order to avoid confusion but still be as detailed as possible, I have settled on a compromise. Each column includes the names of the pieces appropriate to the category followed by some additional information in parentheses. Column one includes the name of the person who taught the piece as well as the year(s) it was learned, if known. Column two includes the name of the composer and the year of composition, if known. Column three includes the names of individuals who led/initiated/devised the realization of each piece and the year of initiation/devising, if known. Column four includes the name of the arranger and year of arranging, if known.
[3] In their literature, Naga Mas notes that Jaran Teji uses "the popular Dangdut style" (program notes 2006, 14). There is also a piece called Tari Jaran Teji created by I Wayan Dibia. As Naga Mas has not recorded their version, it is unclear how—if at all—the two pieces are related.
[4] For example, for her educational workshops held on November 19th and 20th, 2014 at the Academy of Music and Sound (AMS) in Glasgow, Margaret Smith taught participants "Ricik-Ricik" as well as "Adrift and Afloat." The latter was also featured in their 2005 performance *Float Sound Objects*. For their show at the Scottish Storytelling Center (March, 2007), which featured the stories of Calonarang (Java/Bali) and the Cailleach (Scotland), Naga Mas adapted Balinese "Wira Yudha," *kecak* and *beleganjur* as well as "Treetopia" and "Running in the Dark" to function as leitmotivs for different characters in each story. For performances at the West End Festival (annual), a majority of their repertoire is taken from more traditional Javanese pieces while the shows *Float Sound Objects* and *Gamelan Untethered* (2014 and 2015) featured all newly composed music by the group.
[5] No one gave specifics on these eccentricities or how they may have applied to the pieces Joko taught them.

[6] To further complicate the process, Margaret Smith composed "Supremacy," but since she was unavailable for rehearsals prior to its 2014 performance, Naga Mas members reworked the piece based on their memories of her teaching it to them.
[7] Smith did take some time away from performing gamelan during my fieldwork and after. This was for personal reasons, but she did remain involved with the group, helping to plan and organize gigs.
[8] Naga Mas members did not have a cohesive title for the three pieces contained in this suite. I chose the title based on the works' use together in *Wayang Lokananta* and for ease of description.
[9] The name of the original piece is "Mairi's Wedding." Because they arranged and played this for Naga Mas member Katherine Waumsley's wedding, it is also familiarly called "Kath's Wedding." According to some members, this embarrassed Waumsley and so the title was changed back to "Mairi's Wedding." I use the latter to refer to this piece throughout.
[10] This is based on an average of ten soundings of each pitch using the TonalEnergy Tuner set to equal temperament.
[11] Also called "Ca' the Ewes"
[12] This simplicity is in keeping with Burns' own musical preferences. In a 1793 letter to Mr. George Thomson, he wrote "I have still several [illegible] Scots airs by me which I have picked up, mostly from the singing of country lasses. They please me vastly; but your learned *lugs* would perhaps be displeased with the very feature for which I like them. I call them simple; you would pronounce them silly" (http://www.electricscotland.com/burns/songs/05CaTheYowes.jpg).
[13] Also called "Mhairi's Wedding," "Marie's Wedding," "The Lewis Bridal Song," and "Mairi Bhan"
[14] Founded in 1891, the An Comunn Gàidhealach serves as a "vehicle for the preservation of the Gaelic language" (http://www.ancomunn.co.uk/about/history). This organization runs the Royal National Mòd, a festival of Scottish music, song, literature, arts, and culture.
[15] Burns wrote two different sets of lyrics, one in 1789 and one in 1794. In Smith's version, the lyrics of the chorus function as the first verse.
[16] In Fig. 12b, and in all subsequent transcriptions of the music played on gamelan instruments, I have included cipher numbers under the pitches. The tilde under the G's are meant to indicate that, while these are approximately the pitches that are sung in the vocal line, they do not have a corresponding note on the gamelan instruments.
[17] Pitch 1 is used briefly in the vocal melody but never in the gamelan parts.
[18] Goal tones or those found at the end of *kenongan* or *gongan*.
[19] This includes emphasizing certain notes and avoiding others, using a specific range, and certain repeated groupings of notes.
[20] Pivot tones (*tumbuk*) are also used to transition between the *pelog* and *slendro* tuning systems..
[21] I am not sure the same can necessarily be assumed for "Ca' the Yowes." The melodies played on the gamelan instruments are much more abstract. In a later performance of this piece by Naga Mas, one that did not involve the singers, there were no corresponding remarks from the audience.
[22] This is based on the tunings taken from the Spirit of Hope instruments on which this piece was originated.
[23] During *kembangan* sections, the *bonang barung* breaks out of the *imbal* to play a different rhythmic and melodic pattern, usually to signal the end of a *gatra* or *gongan*.
[24] "Imbal is based on the bonang panerus and bonang barung playing alternate notes in patterns of four adjacent notes" (Pickvance 2005, 170).
[25] *Balungan* melodies are often explained as adaptations of the inner melody that are affected by the physical limitations of the instruments. In "Mairi's Wedding" it is not clear whether there is an inner melody that the balungan could be abstracted from.
[26] Short vocal phrases inserted into a piece, usually by male singers, to enhance the mood
[27] A Scottish social event with music and dancing.
[28] While the *gerongan* are usually men, to contrast the female *psindhen*, in Naga Mas and other gamelan groups outside of Indonesia, women also sing as part of the *gerongan*.
[29] For this piece, Naga Mas musicians did not clap interlocking parts but rather maintained a steady sixteenth-note rhythm
[30] While Smith enjoyed the "nice little crunches" achieved by singing the vocal line over the gamelan melody, there were some "funky gamelan notes" that did not quite match up.
[31] "Wong Donya" does have lyrics, but Naga Mas did not perform them during either the York *wayang* or their concert in Glasgow.
[32] Largest Javanese drum
[33] Smallest Javanese drum
[34] https://jsimonvanderwalt.com/works/gamelunk/

[35] These measure-long repeated parts are more of an ostinato than a vamp.
[36] "Birdland" is not quoted directly, but rather the ascending melodic line played by the metallophones, slenthem, and trumpet reference the opening ascending melodic pattern of the Zawinul tune.
[37] And even this is undermined as the saron player strikes pitch 1 (D) at the very end of the piece.
[38] Gangsaran are pieces, generally in *lancaran* form, which consist of single, repeated notes played by the sarons, peking, slenthem, and kenong.
[39] In jazz it is not necessarily the drummer who guides the ensemble or signals the changes. Here I am referring more to the ability and the need for individual musicians to respond to each other rather than to a conductor.
[40] *Polos* and *sangsih* refer to two interlocking (*kotekan*) parts played by the *pamade* and *kantilan* metallophones in Balinese gamelan gong kebyar music. The *sangsih* is often (though not always) an off-beat pattern.
[41] Van der Walt explained that they wanted him to write out the solo section, which he did but also responded, "listen to the recording. For something like this, there would be no reason for me to write out a part for myself!" (p.c. 6/12/17). This speaks not only to "Gamelunk's" international connections but also to van der Walt's dedication to improvisation. This latter is discussed in further detail below.
[42] John Pawson is a gamelan scholar and tutor from England who works with the South Bank Gamelan. He was the overall musical and managing director for the eleven participating gamelans in *Lokananta*. While he did help choose and organize some of the music, he is not a member of Naga Mas.
[43] This is a reference to Naga Mas member Katherine Waumsley. Naga Mas performed "Mairi's Wedding" at Waumsley and Broom's wedding. Because of this, the piece is often referred to as "Kath's Wedding."
[44] See also 172
[45] https://jsimonvanderwalt.com/works/gamelunk/
[46] https://jsimonvanderwalt.com/about/
[47] Or, as he compromised in his dissertation, music is not *just* sound.
[48] This is also evident in the "Gamelunk" recording I transcribed. During the trumpet solo, the *sarons* usually cut out. True to his proclivity, however, Keliehor improvises an ostinato on pitches 3 (F) and 4 (A-flat) on beats one and three that "interlocks" with the *demung's* chords on beats two and four.
[49] http://www.dictionary.com/browse/influence
[50] Michael Klein, for example, uses intertextuality to connect J.S. Bach's 1722 Prelude in C Major, Scott Joplin's 1899 "Original Rag," Witold Lutosławski's 1940-41 Study No. 1 for piano, among other pieces, to Frederic Chopin's 1833 Etude in C Major, Op. 10, No. 1 (2005). These are relationships that Klein himself is suggesting, not any specified by the composers, although some of the musical techniques and treatments suggest that the later composers were *influenced* by the earlier.
[51] Naga Mas' work with Balinese gamelan music also breaks down this dichotomy.
[52] This is also explored further in Chapter 6 and the UHJGE's invested authority.
[53] The RCS theater had a floor-level stage with raked seating, curtains and a screen on which to project the video portion of the show, as well as large, backstage changing rooms. The Old Hairdressers had no backstage area, no curtains or screen (we had to hang a sheet from the ceiling for the projections), and we had to clean up the mess left by the art show given the previous evening.
[54] See Sorrell 2007 and Steele 2013

Chapter 6

[1] Susilo used this phrase several times over the course of his career to describe Javanese musicians following Indonesian independence (Balungan 2010), to explain his perception of himself as a musician and dancer (Solís 2004), and to designate his own gamelan students and members of the UHJGE (program notes, April 1998). Susilo defined amateur as "one who loves."
[2] Both *Segara Madu*, the Balinese community gamelan ensemble, and a newly-formed angklung group also performed at the memorial concert. For this dissertation, however, I am focusing solely on the UHJGE.
[3] See Chapter 2.
[4] There may have been faculty or student composers who would have enjoyed writing for gamelan. This was true of one such student who composed at least one piece performed by the Balinese gamelan community ensemble. In my time with the UHJGE, however, I never heard of anyone offering or asking to compose a new piece for the group.
[5] http://www.dictionary.com/browse/creativity
[6] This is in reference to the Scottish music incorporated by Naga Mas.
[7] And in speaking of the one unquestionably newly created piece, *Parables of Kyai Gandrung*, Joan Suyenaga noted that the compositional process did not involve the performers: "Dr. McKay would come in and listen to the gamelan

for awhile [sic], and he and Pak Sus would discuss something and then we would try something out" (p.c. Joan Suyenaga 2/11/16). In this instance, the student performers acted more as willing guinea pigs than as collaborators.
[8] Sutton emphasizes, for example, that he learned *gender* from Joan Suyenaga, not from Susilo.
[9] Diana Taylor 2003.
[10] The 2000s seem to be the exception, as the years 2001 and 2003-05 were missing from the archive.
[11] Where indicated; there are a few programs that do not indicate pathet for Ladrang Pangkur.
[12] Music for listening
[13] As suggested from Pickvance's analysis of "Pangkur" in *manyura* (2005).
[14] This is the wording used in the program notes for all the pieces listed.
[15] Moon has remained consistent in this. In preparation for the November, 2017 concert, he explained to his class that he imagines the dancers to guide his drumming and encouraged them to watch the dancers when they were there to better understand his drumming signals.
[16] Sutton and Vetter 2006, 237-272; Vetter 1981, 199-214
[17] Solo is the nickname of Surakarta, one of the court cities in Central Java. Generally, "Solonese" is used as an adjective, and Surakarta is used as the proper noun. While at least one UHJGE concert program used the phrasing "Surakarta-style," referring to something from Surakarta as "Solonese" appears to be more common.
[18] Tradition or style
[19] First gatra of "Lancaran Bendrong"
[20] In order to ensure the correct alignment of numbers, I have opted for the monospaced Courier font.
[21] I was never able to discuss these preferences with Susilo, so I am only able to speculate as to why he may have preferred Solonese style and why he did not explain the differences to the students. As a *kraton*-trained musician, Susilo may have held to the sophistication attributed to Solonese-style playing. Additionally, he may have not explained the differences to me and other students because he assumed the differences were already explained by Moon (as leader of the gamelan class). It is also possible that it just slipped his mind.
[22] Sutton 1991, 56.
[23] It is possible that the long-time members understood the differences as they applied to Yogyanese and Solonese styles and played them accordingly. This was not how these styles were introduced to me or my fellow student members. We were told to either play 3 against 2 or to double the *bonang barung*.
[24] This would be an intriguing line of inquiry, particularly in light of Richard Pickvance's comment: "I am told that the Yogya style is going extinct [in Java]. It is possible that the USA, where so many players were taught by players from Yogya, will end up being the main repository of Yogyanese playing style" (p.c. Richard Pickvance 2/17/17)
[25] Susilo himself discusses this misinterpretation (see interview with Diamond, *Balungan* 1984)
[26] See Brinner 1995.
[27] These are: simultaneous imitation, consecutive imitation, delayed imitation, deductive imitation, selective imitation, and emulation.
[28] http://www.dictionary.com/browse/standard?s=t
[29] Martopangrawit 1984, 175.
[30] With the exception of pathet manyura, which had twenty-seven gendhing (Becker 1984, 175).
[31] All of the tables are meant to be read as interpretations of the UHJGE's master repertoire list (see Appendix 2). These are not complete lists of any of the reference sources.
[32] Sulaiman Gitosaprodjo explains that "borrowed" pieces refer to those originally in *slendro* and then "played in pelog with the same notation, except that pelog pitch-level 7 is substituted for slendro pitch-level 1. 'Borrowed' can also mean that the pathet is changed within the same tuning system, for example, Ladrang Pangkur, slendro sanga, becoming slendro manyura" (Becker 1984, 354).
[33] Richard Pickvance 2005, 52.
[34] I use Drummond's notation for comparison because the UHJGE often draws on this resource for their written notation.
[35] Sutton 1991; Pickvance 2005; UHJGE program notes GET THE YEARS.
[36] These numbers reflect the number of times "Ayak-Ayak," "Srepegan," and "Sampak" were used to identify a piece of music. These numbers do not reflect when these terms were used to indicate the form of another piece, for example Ayak-Ayak Giyar, Srepegan Kemuda, and Sampak Westminster.
[37] Ironically, this count also does not include any of the 13 *wayang kulit* or dance drama productions staged by the UHJGE where these pieces were undoubtedly used but were not listed by name in the programs. It is very safe to assume, then, that the actual number of times these pieces were performed is higher.

[38] As was indicated at the beginning of this chapter, my data is incomplete as I was not able to gather every single concert program. However, taking as a sample the concert programs from 2010-2016, where I do have a complete set of programs for every concert, the overall trends hold true.
[39] Vetter describes the *minggah* as "a term used for a specific type of transition between gendhing" (1986, 608) but does not specify its precise difference from *dhawah*. Pickvance's definitions also seem to suggest that *minggah* and *dhawah* may be used interchangeably (2005).
[40] These are: "Ladrang Gonjang-Ganjing," "Ladrang Tirtakencana," "Ketut Manggung," and "Sentir."
[41] This section is related to sections of Chapter 5, namely "Creativity and Influence" (pg. 202) and "Negotiating Agency" (pg. 207).
[42] See, for example, Spiller 2015; Miller and Lieberman 1999.
[43] In Solís 2004, 61.
[44] No one in either group makes a living solely from teaching and/or performing gamelan music.
[45] Specifically within university music departments
[46] This, of course, raises other issues. If we give someone else power, does that not reinforce how powerful we actually are?
[47] Here, Susilo explains intentionally leaving out gong strokes to see who was paying attention, who was listening for it, and who was "disappointed" in its absence.
[48] In interviews, several members echoed the "more Javanese than the Javanese" sentiment expressed by Trimillos. While this was a point of pride with the group, no one suggested that this made their group better or more correct than their Javanese counterparts. It was more used to indicate their connection to a past Java, one they caught glimpses of during the 1973 trip, but also one that had already begun to change.
[49] Susilo, "Towards an Appreciation of Javanese Gamelan," program notes 2006).
[50] Val Vetter left Hawai'i to teach Javanese dance at the University of Wisconsin and Grinnell College in Iowa; Pattie Dunn stayed in Hawai'i and continued to dance and play in the UHJGE.
[51] It is sometimes difficult to ascertain whether pieces in different *pathets* are in fact completely different works (that may share the same title) or if they are just different realizations of the same piece. It is relatively likely that the Gangsaran – Ladrang Jagung-Jagung performed in 2007 is a different realization of the same piece performed at Susilo's memorial concert because the descriptions of the piece in each concert program are almost exactly the same. It is also relatively safe to assume that the 1978 version is related to the 2015 version because slendro manyura shares certain relationships with pelog barang.
[52] Susilo also incorporated Thai Ching cymbals in the latter performance because he liked the additional timbre.

Chapter 7

[1] "Albert Einstein: The Nature of Life and Dimensions on Earth – Part 1 of 2," Golden Age of Gaia, http://goldenageofgaia.com/2011/09/14/albert-einstein-the-nature-of-life-and-dimensions-on-earth-part-12/
[2] And this framework is infinitely expandable as other dimensions can be added when applicable.
[3] "Go With the Flow," WIRED, http://archive.wired.com/wired/archive/4.09/czik_pr.html; my emphasis.
[4] Or perhaps total anarchy depending on one's view.
[5] And, indeed, many members of the UHJGE used the word "charismatic" to describe Susilo.
[6] This applies both to university students and long-time members of the UHJGE.
[7] It is possible now, with Susilo's passing, that the UHJGE's leadership may start to parallel that of Naga Mas in some ways. Although the UHJGE is under new leadership, the group still views Susilo as vital to their sense of community. This is evidenced in their plans for a concert to celebrate the 1,000th day following Susilo's death. On the more day-to-day side of things, Byron Moon and R. Anderson Sutton are sharing responsibilities for leadership. Moon has also mentioned his struggle in balancing democratic input with diplomatic dictatorship, saying on the one hand, "I can't just do what I want to do" and on the other, getting comfortable with saying, "We're going to do *this*" (p.c. Byron Moon 4/29/15). Other members have intimated that they are quite happy to afford Moon the same sense of devotion they afforded to Susilo.
[8] There are many such examples in the UHJGE, enough so that several members, only half-jokingly, ascribe the many marriages that have taken place between community members to the name of the gamelan itself: Venerable One in Love.
[9] While behavior, embodiment, teaching, learning, and music are other coherence principles, they are use as the basis for different dimensions.
[10] Substituting "mainstream" or "privileged ethnicities" for "white" here reflects the East Asian hegemon in Hawai'i. The high number of East Asian heritage members of the UHJGE would then fulfill all three criteria.

[11] Hawaiian word used to denote white people
[12] Bruno Deschênes observes that "The attraction non-Western music has on Westerners appears to be mainly attributable to its exotic nature" (2005, 7).
[13] In further research, it may be worthwhile to consider these shifting dependencies as a new form of patronage. This is, however, outside the scope of this dissertation.
[14] See also Mendonça 2002
[15] This same scenario has occurred recently for Bowling Green State University's taiko ensemble. A collection of students broke off from the university-offered class to form their own performing ensemble. This led to tensions regarding proper representation of taiko traditions and culture.
[16] "About Us," Cryptic, http://www.cryptic.org.uk/about/
[17] "Discover Indonesia," Cryptic, http://www.cryptic.org.uk/discover-indonesia/
[18] When it became clear that the latter was not happening, Naga Mas members took to social media and word of mouth to promote their show as well as the whole festival.
[19] See for example Erlmann 1998, House 2014, Mendonça 2002, Shelemay 2011, Slobin 2000
[20] There was talk of getting him a permanent parking pass to make parking at the university for lessons and rehearsals easier.
[21] Barry Drummond's website Gending Jawa: http://www.gamelanbvg.com/gendhing/gendhing.html
[22] Here, "inreach" refers to efforts by both affinity communities to educate themselves in addition to educating members of the larger community.
[23] While all the boundaries suggested for each dimension are extreme, and therefore impractical and only intended to help define what is possible in each dimension, the boundaries here are especially problematic because of difficulties regarding the designations traditional and newly composed. Composers and musicians in and out of Indonesia continue to create new pieces which adhere to traditional performance practice, structure, and instrument function. These pieces are written contemporarily but follow historically traditional forms. For gamelan groups which hold to more traditional practices (e.g., the UHJGE and the Boston Village Gamelan) the date of composition matters less than the structure. Because of this, I am using traditional and newly composed to refer to form and function, not time.

Chapter 8

[1] See for example Brinner 1995; Lindsay 1992;
[2] As Rene Lysloff (2016 and Timothy Taylor (2007) advocate, although Lysloff focuses on Javanese musicians.
[3] Mark Slobin's definition: "charmed circles of like-minded music-makers drawn magnetically to a certain genre that creates strong expressive bonding" (1993/2000)
[4] And elsewhere around the world
[5] A group of people initially united through common interests, passions, or goals who—through varied and variable communal learning, teaching, performing, growing, agreement, conflict, and time—establish a shared and evolving identity based on internally created coherence principles.
[6] And other related behaviors like not stepping over the instruments and not walking upright among them.
[7] I must emphasize the generality of these paradigms. They also refer more to their structure and national adoption of gamelan. For example, as Mendonça (2002) has noted, many of the gamelan groups in the UK have never had a long-term Indonesian leader. In the US, while this is not always the case, a permanent Indonesian musician as leader is a strongly desired outcome. Gamelan in the UK has become part of the national education curriculum while nothing so official has taken place in the US.
[8] For example, Kontemporaryong Gamelan Pilipino (or KONTRA-GAPI) at the University of the Philippines, Montebello Gamelan in Italy, and Gamelan Network Japan West.
[9] This is, in the first instance, reference to the authenticity bestowed on Trimillos as a teacher of Japanese *koto*. Trimillos explains that while his knowledge of Japanese music and culture justifies his teaching of the subject for some, his *physical appearance* when "dressed in a kimono and kneeling before a koto . . . might easily be interpreted as Japanese, or occasionally Okinawan" (in Solís 2004, 37) and therefore adds an element of the "authentic." The second instance refers to Sutton's comment that Susilo's Javaneseness may have constituted a significant draw for students.
[10] Again, for the purposes of this dissertation, I have focused on two contrasting groups of Westerners who utilize non-Western music, instruments, and traditions. This is something of a feature of gamelan outside of Indonesia as most of these gamelan ensembles are populated and perpetuated by people of non-Indonesian descent. Participants of Indonesian descent may have very different feelings and motivations regarding these community gamelans. It is

interesting to note that, at least during my time with the UHJGE, none of the Indonesian students on campus participated in the ensemble. Future research may include ascertaining why this was so, whether this is common among gamelans housed at universities or whether this situation was unique to Hawai‘i, etc.